

# *The* MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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# THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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## CONTRIBUTORS

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KING, ROY T., received his A. B. degree from the University of Missouri. He has been in charge of the newspaper department of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1924.

DORSEY, DOROTHY BAKER, native Missourian, received her A. B. and M. A. degrees from the University of Missouri, and her B. S. in Library Science from the University of Illinois in 1934. She is a research assistant in the State Historical Society of Missouri.

## ROBERT WILLIAM WELLS, JURIST, PUBLIC SERVANT, AND DESIGNER OF THE MISSOURI STATE SEAL

BY ROY T. KING

Entirely new light is cast on the designing and interpretation of Missouri's State Seal by the accidental discovery of a signed letter written by Robert William Wells, the designer, which was published in 1847. This explanatory and historical letter appeared twenty-five years after the adoption of the Seal, and has remained unnoticed for the past eighty-nine years.

Biographers have recorded little about Wells, yet he was one of Missouri's most outstanding men. As legislator, attorney general, United States district judge, president of the Constitutional Convention of 1845, law reformer, curator of the University of Missouri, charter member of the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society and of the Missouri Fruit Growers' Association, Union advocate, leader in emancipation movements, and advocate of Osage river navigation, Wells had a long and notable public career.

### EARLY LIFE

Robert William Wells was born in Winchester, Virginia, on November 29, 1795, the son of Richard Wells. Of his family and his boyhood little is known. It is recorded that he attended only an "ordinary common-field school" at Winchester.<sup>1</sup> He is believed to have been a schoolmate of Hamilton Rowan Gamble, who later became governor of Missouri.<sup>2</sup> Winchester offered exceptional educational facil-

<sup>1</sup>Bay, W. V. N., *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri*, p. 538.

<sup>2</sup>*Proceedings and Resolutions in the United States Circuit Court on the Death of Hon. Robert W. Wells, U. S. District Judge, Missouri, October 3rd, 1864*, p. 6. Note, however, that Gamble is known to have attended Hampden-Sydney College, in Virginia, but existing records of the College do not reveal proof of Wells' attendance there, according to a letter of July 5, 1934, from Dr. J. D. Eggleston, president of Hampden-Sydney College. They may have been schoolmates in some other school.

ities, as "an academy for youth was founded by the Legislature as far back as 1788 . . . . There was also an institute for young ladies and eleven other schools."<sup>3</sup> Whether he attended any of these schools or not cannot be learned.

In January, 1816, Wells wrote from St. Stephensburg, Frederick county, Virginia, to Edward Tiffin, surveyor general of the United States, at Chillicothe, Ohio, making application for a position as deputy surveyor.<sup>4</sup> He stated that he had devoted considerable time to the study of mathematics under the best masters, in preparation for duties as a surveyor. He was highly recommended by General John George Jackson,<sup>5</sup> who wrote Mr. Tiffin that young Wells planned to enter one of the learned professions but would temporarily abandon his studies "in order by his industry to obtain the means of prosecuting them."<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Tiffin gave Wells the position, and after a short visit with his family near Marietta, Ohio, he reported for duty at Chillicothe about the middle of March, 1816.<sup>7</sup> He set out for St. Louis, being assigned to duty in Missouri under the direction of William Rector, then surveyor general of Illinois and Missouri. He hoped by beginning early in the season that he might survey "at least twelve townships" and make his returns in due time.<sup>8</sup> He and his party worked in north central Missouri.<sup>9</sup>

Until the spring of 1817 he held this position, then visited cities in the East and began the study of law under the auspices of his friend, General Jackson.<sup>10</sup> Business then

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<sup>3</sup>Martin, Joseph, *Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia*, p. 344.

<sup>4</sup>Wells' letter of January 3, 1816, on file in General Land Office, Washington, D. C.

<sup>5</sup>General Jackson was representative from Virginia in the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 14th Congresses. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. IX, p. 550, and *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1143.

<sup>6</sup>Jackson's letter of December 30, 1815, on file in General Land Office, Washington, D. C.

<sup>7</sup>Wells' letter of February 12, 1816, on file in General Land Office, Washington, D. C.

<sup>8</sup>Wells' letter of March 23, 1816, on file in General Land Office, Washington, D. C.

<sup>9</sup>Reminiscences of Elijah Foster, who joined his party, printed in the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, November 16, 1860.

<sup>10</sup>Wells' letter of December 10, 1818, on file in General Land Office, Washington, D. C.

took him to Gallipolis, Ohio, where for perhaps a year he studied under Samuel Finley Vinton, later one of the nation's most distinguished lawyers.<sup>11</sup>

In December, 1818, Wells again applied to Mr. Tiffin for a position, in order to augment his funds for further study.<sup>12</sup> He probably engaged in surveying, and may have been in or near St. Louis in October, 1819.<sup>13</sup>

Wells' knowledge of Missouri and the solicitation of William Rector caused him to move to this State.<sup>14</sup> By 1820 he was a resident of St. Charles and was practicing law.<sup>15</sup> In 1821 he acted as deputy attorney-general, or circuit attorney, in the St. Charles county court,<sup>16</sup> thus serving under Edward Bates, first attorney general of Missouri.

#### DESIGNING THE SEAL

The first session of the General Assembly of Missouri, which met in St. Louis in 1820, and the called session of June, 1821, which met in St. Charles, adjourned without adopting an official seal, much to the embarrassment of the governor and the secretary of state.<sup>17</sup>

Wells' own words, written in 1847, best describe the designing of the seal, which occurred in December, 1821. He wrote his explanation because of a misinterpretation of the

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<sup>11</sup>Vinton was graduated from Williams College in 1814, then practiced law in Connecticut and in 1816 moved to Gallipolis. (*Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, Vol. 4, pp. 231 ff.) It is erroneously stated in *Federal Cases*, Book 30, p. 1401, that Vinton's office was in Marietta, and that Wells studied under him there. A letter of February 5, 1934, from C. B. Galbreath, librarian of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, states, "The Washington County history does not mention that he [Vinton] ever practiced in Marietta."

<sup>12</sup>Wells' letter of December 10, 1818, on file in General Land Office, Washington, D. C.

<sup>13</sup>St. Louis *Enquirer* (semi-weekly), October 9, 1819.

<sup>14</sup>*Federal Cases*, Book 30, p. 1401.

<sup>15</sup>Advertisement in *St. Charles Missourian* from December 29, 1820, to February 24, 1822.

<sup>16</sup>St. Charles *Missourian*, January 3, 1822; Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri*, Vol. 3, p. 25.

<sup>17</sup>Governor McNair's message, November 5, 1821, in *House Journal*, 1st General Assembly, 2d Sess., 1821-22, p. 10.

State motto made by Edward Bates<sup>18</sup> in a speech of February 17, 1847, at the celebration commemorating the founding of St. Louis.<sup>19</sup> Bates had declared, ". . . . When in Jefferson City . . . . he was struck with the false maxim engraved on the stone over the entrance to the Capitol, 'Salus populi suprema lex esto'—'may the safety of the people be the supreme law.' Such a motto is ever in the tyrant's mouth. Under its sanction he practices his cruel arts upon his oppressed subjects. He [Bates] would have that motto erased and the supremacy of the law take its place."<sup>20</sup>

Judge Wells, then a vice president of the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society, in reply to Bates, addressed his letter dated March 11, 1847, to that Society and to Falkland H. Martin, its secretary. Martin was secretary of state of Missouri during 1845-49, and was, therefore, official custodian of the seal when Wells wrote this explanation. Martin turned the account over to the editors of the *Jefferson City Metropolitan*,<sup>21</sup> Hampton L. Boon<sup>22</sup> and Benjamin F. Hickman,<sup>23</sup> both members of the Society. They published it in their paper of March 23, 1847. His article was thus widely distributed throughout the State just twenty-five years after the Seal was adopted.

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<sup>18</sup>At this time Bates was one of the leading lawyers in St. Louis. Previously he had been a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820, first attorney general of the State. United States district attorney, representative in Congress, representative in the Missouri General Assembly, and senator in the Missouri General Assembly. He held many other prominent positions before his death, which occurred March 25, 1869. (*Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri*. Vol. I, pp. 180-81.)

<sup>19</sup>Wells had been invited to speak also, but was unable to attend. See *Report of the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Founding of St. Louis, . . . 1847*.

<sup>20</sup>*Jefferson City Metropolitan*, March 23, 1847.

<sup>21</sup>The *Metropolitan* was known as the official organ of Governor Edwards, and was an important Democratic journal. It was strongly anti-Benton.

<sup>22</sup>Boon was from Howard county, having settled there in 1820. He was a Methodist minister, and had been a merchant at Fayette, and Register of the Land Office at old Franklin and Fayette about twelve years and then moved to Jefferson City in 1842 to become clerk of the Supreme Court. (*History of Howard and Cooper Counties* (1883), pp. 361-62.) He was State Librarian at the time Wells' letter on the Seal was published.

<sup>23</sup>Hickman, in addition to his editorial duties, was a practicing lawyer, and a partner of Carty Wells.

Wells wrote:

"... The adoption of a coat of arms has... in many cases, in after times, given rise to much conjecture and speculation: and frequently, no doubt, the real meaning and true explanation has never been obtained. If nothing be said by those *now* acquainted with the history of *our coat of arms*, the same conjectures, speculations, and misapprehensions in regard to it will, doubtless, in after times prevail, as appears in part from the observations of Mr. Bates. To obviate this... as I am the author or the original suggestor of our coat of arms, I suppose the explanation would come as well from me as from others. The subject is the more interesting as the present coat of arms *must* remain unchanged as long as the State and that part of the constitution which relates to the subject, remain...

As late as the 1st of January, 1822,<sup>24</sup> the General Assembly had not been able to agree upon those 'emblems and devices,' although the third session of the Assembly, held after the adoption of the Constitution, was within a few days of its close. A great number of devices had been suggested, some of them fanciful enough. I then drew up a description of an 'armorial achievement' and of 'emblems and devices for the Great Seal' and submitted it to members of the Assembly, accompanied by an explanation of the Heraldic principles upon which it was founded, and by a drawing as it would be when engraved or painted. It was examined by the members generally, and particularly by Mr. Henry S. Geyer, and adopted by the act of 11th January, 1822.<sup>25</sup> No change was made; and the only addition was the numerical letters MDCCCXX for the year in which Missouri became a State—1820. This addition was made at the suggestion of Mr. Geyer.

The device is upon strict Heraldic principles, as is that of the United States, suggested by Mr. Barton of Philadelphia, and approved by Congress. The explanation and the description which accompanied it were published in the newspapers at St. Charles,<sup>26</sup> where the Assembly then sat, at the time of the enactment of the law. I will here give that part of

<sup>24</sup>Chauncey Smith, of St. Charles county, chairman of the select committee appointed to consider this matter and to propose a bill for the Seal, reported a bill which was referred to the committee of the whole on December 31, 1821. (*House Journal*, 1st General Assembly, 2d Sess., 1821-22, p. 150.) This bill was taken up by the committee of the whole and was favorably reported to the House on January 8, 1822. (*Ibid.*, p. 184.) On January 9, 1822, the bill was read a third time and passed. (*Ibid.*, p. 186.) It was then sent to the Senate, where the rules were suspended and the bill read three times and passed. (*Senate Journal*, 1st General Assembly, 2d Sess., 1821-22, p. 174.)

<sup>25</sup>This is the date on which it was signed by the Governor. (*Laws of Missouri*, 1st General Assembly, 2d Sess., 1821-22, pp. 75-76.)

<sup>26</sup>The bill and an explanation of the Seal were printed in the *St. Charles Missourian* of January 10, 1822. (Note that this was the day before the bill was signed by the Governor.) The bill and explanation were reprinted from the *Missourian* by the *St. Louis Missouri Gazette* of January 16, 1822.

the act which prescribes the 'emblems and devices'; and, for the satisfaction of those persons who may not have troubled themselves with the art of Heraldry, some description and explanation of them. The act, as published in 1822, was so badly punctuated and italicised, that it was nearly unintelligible. At the request of one of the revisors [sic], I attended to this matter in the act as republished in the digest of 1824-5.<sup>27</sup> 'Arms parted per pale, on the dexter side *gules*, the white or grisly [sic] bear of Missouri, *passant guardant*, proper; on a chief engrailed *azure*, a crescent *argent*; on the sinister side *argent*, the arms of the United States; the whole within a band inscribed with the words "United we stand, divided we fall." For the *crest*, over a helmet full faced, grated with six bars *or*, a cloud *proper*, from which ascends a star *argent*, and above it a constellation of twenty-three smaller stars *argent* on an *azure* field, surrounded by a cloud *proper*. *Supporters* on each side, a white or grisly [sic] bear of Missouri, rampant, guardant *proper*, standing on a scroll, inscribed with the motto "*Salus populi suprema lex esto*;" and under the scroll the numerical letters MDCCCXX.'

#### WELLS' EXPLANATION OF THE SEAL

For purposes of comparison, Wells' explanation of 1847, which immediately followed the foregoing statement, is here given in parallel with his first explanation of 1822. Although quotations from the *St. Charles Missourian* of January 10, 1822, are quoted verbatim, they have been rearranged to correspond with the order in the 1847 account.

##### *Explanation of 1847*

"A part of the arms of the State is a white or grisly [sic] bear of Missouri.

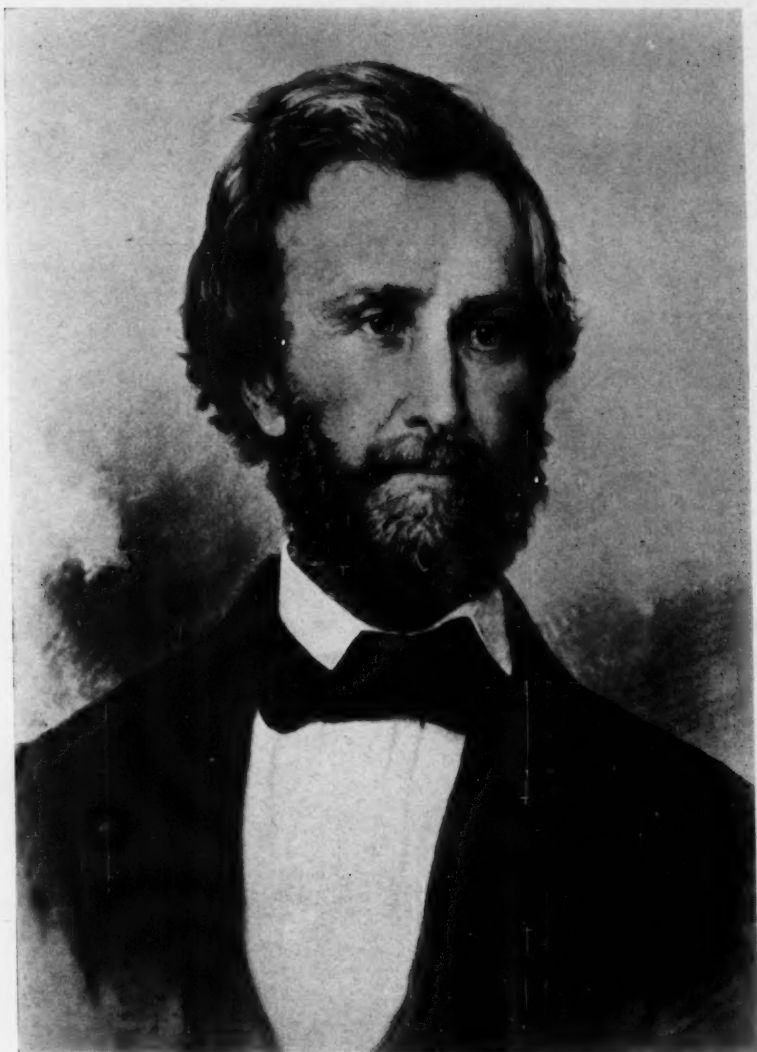
In heraldry it is always understood that none of the *bad* properties of animals taken as emblems are intended, or are supposed to be contemplated. Thus the United States in adopting the eagle is not supposed to indicate that the U. S. are like a bird of prey, and will prey upon, and devour other nations.

##### *Explanation of 1822*

Quadrupeds are the most honorable bearings.

<sup>27</sup>*Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1825, Vol. 2, p. 721. A comparison of this law with that printed in 1822 reveals the differences in use of italics and punctuation, as Wells says.*





ROBERT WILLIAM WELLS



An impression of the original Great Seal of the State of Missouri. From a document certifying the appointment of Samuel Burchard as Sheriff of Gasconade county, by Governor Frederick Bates, dated at St. Charles, April 23, 1825. In the Library of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

The English in adopting the lion, are not supposed to have intended to indicate that England was like a beast of prey. They were both adopted for their *noble* properties.

The white or grisly [sic] bear is unlike any other, and was believed to be unknown except on the Missouri and in the neighborhood, and was adopted on account of its vast power, great courage and prodigious hardihood; emblematical of the great resources of the State of the courage and hardihood of its citizens.

The crescent or new moon was adopted as indicating the then and future condition of the State; small in population and wealth, but increasing like the crescent.

The arms of the U. S. and those of the State are encircled and surrounded by a band, yet separated by a *pale* or line, to indicate that the whole make one government, yet are separate and distinct governments for certain purposes.

The motto which is inscribed upon the band, 'united we stand, divided we fall,' is to indicate the advantages of the *Union* and the evils which would attend its dissolution.

The arms of the U. S. in connection with the arms of the State, also indicate that the power of war and peace is with the Government of the U. S. and not with that of the State, as shown by the arrows in one

The great grizley [sic] bear being almost peculiar to the Missouri river, and its tributaries, and remarkable for his prodigious size, strength and courage, is borne as the principal charge of our shield.

The crescent also denotes the growing situation of this state as to inhabitants, wealth, power, &c. The crescent in heraldry, is borne on by the second son, and, on our shield, denotes that we are the second state (Louisiana being the first) formed out of territory not within the original territorial limits of the United States, admitted to the Union.

The arms of the state of Missouri and of the United States, impaled together, yet separated by a pale, denote the connexion existing between the two governments and shew that, although connected by a compact, yet we are independent as to external concerns.

The words surrounding the shield denote the necessity of the Union.

[Compare with second paragraph above.]

claw of the eagle and the olive branch in the other claw.

The crest over the arms of the State, a helmet of gold, grated with six bars, indicates that the State although sovereign as to some matters, is not sovereign as to all; the helmet being that of a *prince* but not that of a *king*.

The large star ascending from a cloud into a constellation of 23 smaller stars, indicates the rise of Missouri into the confederation or union of 23 states, and the difficulty attending it—the Missouri controversy.

The supporters stand upon a scroll upon which is inscribed the words 'Salus populi suprema lex esto.' 'Let the good of the people be the supreme law.' This motto being that upon which the supporters stand, was intended to represent the foundation of the government of the State. That foundation is '*the good of the people*' or the public good,

The helmet indicates military enterprise and hardihood. The one blazoned on this coat of arms is that assigned to sovereigns only.

The star ascending from a cloud to join the constellation, shews Missouri surmounting her difficulties, and taking her rank among the other states of the Union.

The supporters are the same powerful animals borne on the shield, which support the shield, on which are blazoned the arms of the state and the United States, denotes that while we support ourselves by our own internal strength, we also are in support of the general government.

The motto shews that 'the good of the people is the supreme law' of this state.

The numerals under the scroll show the date of the Constitution, (1820).

and was intended to contra distinguish this government from the governments of the old world: or a Republican government from a monarchy. Monarchies were claimed to be founded on the divine right of kings; the people were made for the rulers and not the rulers for the people; the honor and interest of the *king*, were always permanent [sic]<sup>28</sup> to the honor and interests of the people. Here everything was to be reversed. No ruler was to have any rights or powers except those given by the people for *their* own good: the rulers were made by and for the people, for their own good. The good of the people—or public good was the very foundation of the government. The motto was asserting a principle existing anterior

<sup>28</sup>Evidently a typographical error. He probably meant "paramount".

to all governments and constitutions—the right of the people to make a constitution and that its foundation should be the “public good.” It was intended to apply to all constitutions and laws, which constitutions and laws were to be based on the one great principle—“the safety or good of the people.” Most certainly I never contemplated in submitting, and as certainly the General Assembly never contemplated in adopting this motto as a part of a coat of arms, mob laws or any violation of law as essential or necessary to the safety or good of the people; or intended to intimate that the civil law was not always to be paramount. I have ever believed that mob laws were dangerous in the highest degree; and have always thought that the military ought to be in strict subordination to the civil authority. I will not say that there can be no circumstances under which it might not be proper to violate a law. Cases might be imagined in which the good arising from a single violation of a law would greatly overbalance the evil, including the example. But neither I or the motto had any thing to do with such questions. . . . .

#### OTHERS CREDITED WITH AUTHORSHIP OF SEAL

Heretofore three other published versions of the designing and authorship of the Great Seal of the State of Missouri were known. In none of these was Robert William Wells mentioned.

Chronologically, the first of these versions was published in the *Columbia Daily Herald* of November 30, 1906, and was reprinted in the *Boonville Weekly Advertiser* of December 6, 1906, and the *Fayette Howard County Advertiser* of December 13, 1906. It states, “George Burckhardt . . . was the father of the coat-of-arms of Missouri. Thus the tradition runs in Howard county. Of written record there is none . . . .” This version is further supported by the testimony of the descendants and relatives of George Burckhardt in the pamphlet entitled *George Frederick Burckhardt, Designer of The Missouri State Seal*, written by Mrs. Mary Miller Smiser, and published in Warrensburg in April, 1929. Based on all the above material and exhaustive supplementary research, a lengthy article entitled “The Case for George Frederick Burckhardt as Designer of the Great Seal of Missouri,” was written by Dr. C. H. McClure and published in the *Fayette Advertiser* of October 13, 1931. He concludes, “. . . . while I have not been able to find the Burckhardt tradition reduced to writing before 1906, the documentary facts of record fit in admirably with the tradition; the fact that the

tradition existed more than half a century ago is vouched for by numerous persons, the testimony of some of whom I have given you; and in addition, there are persons now living, one of whom is present here, who testify that they heard George Frederick Burckhardt tell of designing the seal. Undoubtedly the seal was designed by some one person, not a member of the legislature. The law and the explanation (in the newspapers of 1822) were written by the same man and in my opinion, arrived at after a careful study of all the facts now attainable, that man was George Frederick Burckhardt."<sup>29</sup>

Two years after the Burckhardt tradition first appeared in print, the late Louis Houck in his *History of Missouri*, stated, "It is not now known who suggested these arms for Missouri. If allowed to conjecture I would attribute the idea they convey to Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker who . . . perhaps wrote this explanation of the heraldic meaning . . ."<sup>30</sup> This same designer was recognized in an article written in the 1880's by the late Judge John Megown of Ralls county, but his article seems not to have been printed.<sup>31</sup>

A third account of the Seal, written by the late Perry S. Rader, appeared in the *Missouri Historical Review* of April and July, 1929. This author accepted, in part, the Burckhardt tradition, but further attributed parts of the Seal to eight men, jointly, thus crediting each with a part of the design akin to his particular interest or knowledge. Seeking to consider all rival versions of the designing, Mr. Rader stated, "In newspapers and pamphlets published fifty or sixty years ago are to be found statements that Carty Wells was the author. But the statements cannot be true. He was born in 1805, and was less than eighteen years of age when the law was enacted. Besides, he resided in Kentucky until twenty-two years old, and did not come to Missouri until 1827."<sup>32</sup> This reference to "Carty" Wells instead of "Robert W." Wells at least shows that historical recognition

<sup>29</sup>*Fayette Advertiser*, October 13, 1931, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup>Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. 3, p. 270, footnote.

<sup>31</sup>*Fayette Advertiser*, October 13, 1931.

<sup>32</sup>*Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (April, 1929), p. 450.

was knocking at the door of the Wells family. Unfortunately Mr. Rader did not quote or give further references to the "newspapers and pamphlets published fifty or sixty years ago."

#### STRENGTH OF THE WELLS CLAIM

As far as is known, no other person credited with designing the Seal ever made a signed and published statement personally claiming authorship of the design, as Robert William Wells did. His claim antedates by fifty-nine years the oldest of the others known to be published. This lapse of time would account, in part at least, for his claim having been forgotten. Also, the file of the Jefferson City *Metropolitan* is quite rare, and the comparatively few research workers who have used it have overlooked Wells' article on the Seal.

He wrote his explanation just twenty-five years after the adoption of the Seal, and many of his contemporaries were familiar with the facts. Among these are William G. Pettus, secretary of state during 1821-24, first official custodian of the Seal, who lived until December 25, 1867,<sup>33</sup> and Henry S. Geyer, whom Wells credits with making the only change in his design by adding the figures MDCCCXX, and who lived until March 5, 1859.<sup>34</sup> Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, "conjectured" by Houck to be the designer, lived until 1851.<sup>35</sup> George Frederick Burckhardt, also credited with being the designer of the Seal, lived until 1864.<sup>36</sup> These men, all associated with the history and tradition of the State Seal, as well as other persons who lived during the period 1822-1847, would have been quick to criticise any misstatement in Wells' historical sketch.

In particular, Edward Bates might be expected to challenge Wells' account of designing and interpreting the Seal, had there been a weakness in it, because it was issued in criticism of Bates, a notable and prominent man.

<sup>33</sup>Scharf, John Thomas, *History of St. Louis City and County*, p. 563.

<sup>34</sup>Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri*, p. 152.

<sup>35</sup>*Biographies and Engravings of Grand Masters, Grand Treasurers and Grand Secretaries of the Grand Lodge of Missouri (A. F. & A. M.)*, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup>*Fayette Advertiser*, October 13, 1931.

Files of several contemporary newspapers were examined minutely to ascertain if any other writer had taken issue with Wells concerning his claim and interpretation, and no such dissenting opinion, or even correction, of his article appeared in any of these files.

It is significant also to note that Wells wrote his article on the Seal in order to prevent any uncertainty as to its history and to insure the preservation of this record by the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society. It was thus addressed to his colleagues who were, by the nature of their interest in that Society, critical of Missouri history. The untimely demise of that organization prevented its accomplishing this purpose.

#### WELLS' PUBLIC CAREER

Robert W. Wells took an active interest in public affairs. He was present at a meeting of the St. Charles Agricultural and Manufacturing Society held in the legislative hall early in 1822.<sup>37</sup> He was chosen as one of a committee of three to draw up by-laws for the Society. Again in July, 1822, the Society met and he was elected secretary.<sup>38</sup>

He decided to seek election as a representative from St. Charles county in the General Assembly, and accordingly announced his candidacy in the St. Charles *Missourian* of May 23, 1822. The county was allowed three representatives, and during the campaign twelve men entered the race. Among them was Nathan Boone, son of Daniel Boone. The election, held on August 5, 1822, resulted in the choice of Joseph Evans, Felix Scott, and Robert W. Wells.<sup>39</sup> They were present at the opening of the session on November 4, 1822.<sup>40</sup>

Wells' part in this early legislature was at least of notable prominence. He presided in the speaker's chair on several occasions, served on a committee which considered a bill for the revision of the laws of the State,<sup>41</sup> and took a generally active part.

<sup>37</sup>St. Charles *Missourian*, June 6, 1822.

<sup>38</sup>St. Charles *Missourian*, July 25, 1822.

<sup>39</sup>Official returns in St. Charles *Missourian*, August 8, 1822.

<sup>40</sup>*House Journal*, 2d General Assembly, 1822, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup>*House Journal*, 2d General Assembly, 1822, p. 54.



Two years later he sought reelection to the House, and was successful.<sup>42</sup> Soon after the opening of this session the impeachment of Judge Richard S. Thomas, of the Fourth Judicial Circuit, was proposed, and Wells was appointed to the House committee chosen to investigate the matter. The final result was the conviction of Judge Thomas by the Senate on March 18, 1825.<sup>43</sup> For his industrious and conscientious work on this House committee Wells received special commendation by that body.<sup>44</sup>

In 1826 Wells was chosen by Governor John Miller as attorney general of Missouri, being the third person to hold this office. His appointment was made at a three-day special session of the legislature.<sup>45</sup> It was supposed that Colonel Rufus Easton would receive this appointment, and the unexpected choice of Wells "created a little dissatisfaction which will soon dissipate."<sup>46</sup> One writer in the *Missouri Republican* objected to Wells' appointment,<sup>47</sup> claiming that it was unconstitutional since Wells' term as representative, extending from August, 1824, had not expired. He did not question Wells' ability, however. He mentioned that Wells had supported General Miller in the gubernatorial campaign.

Another writer, who signed himself "Agricola," made reply in the *Missouri Republican*, stating that the obligation for the attorney general to reside at the seat of government made a limited choice possible, and that he believed the governor's choice was satisfactory to the people, "and a proof of it is the unanimous confirmation of the appointment by the Senate."<sup>48</sup> "Agricola" said that the constitutionality of the matter had been suggested to the governor, but that it was left for him to decide this point.

Missouri's thirty-one-year old attorney general had many responsibilities. "The duties of that office are to advise,

<sup>42</sup>St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, August 16, 1824.

<sup>43</sup>*Senate Journal*, 3d General Assembly, 1st Sess., 1824-25, pp. 217-219.

<sup>44</sup>*House Journal*, 3d General Assembly, 1st Sess., 1824-25, p. 364.

<sup>45</sup>St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, January 26, 1826.

<sup>46</sup>Letter of February 1, 1826, from John O'Fallon to General Thomas A. Smith in the *Smith Manuscript Collections* in the Library of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

<sup>47</sup>St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, February 9, 1826.

<sup>48</sup>St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, February 16, 1826.

on all matters of law, the Governor, Auditor, Treasurer, and Secretary of State, the Circuit Attorneys in other circuits and the General Assembly and either house of the General Assembly &c. To attend to all the legal business of the State and Counties, and to prosecute in criminal cases."<sup>49</sup> When not engaged in the duties of his office he was allowed to continue his private practice.<sup>50</sup>

The removal of the State capitol to Jefferson City occasioned Wells' change of residence. His professional card in the *St. Louis Missouri Republican* indicates his removal about February 6, 1827, and shows that he solicited practice in the district court of the United States and in the circuit and supreme courts of the first circuit.<sup>51</sup>

Political circles were considering Wells as a possible candidate for Congress in 1827. John O'Fallon, of St. Louis, wrote General Thomas A. Smith: ". . . Much has been said about candidates for Congress, Wells, Pettis, Ryland, Gov. Miller & Genl. Ashley have been named in opposition to the incumbent. I should prefer Gov. Miller being reelected so as to succeed either Barton or Col. Benton."<sup>52</sup>

The attorney general seems to have kept his hat in the ring, for in 1828 William Carr Lane wrote General Smith, saying, "I had supposed my friend Wells out of the question, but it seems somebody has put him into the humor again of holding office. He proposed by a letter just recd. to refer the choice of a candidate, from amongst those now before the public, namely, himself, W. P. and myself, to yourself & Col. Benton, and I had assented to this reference since I find Gov. M[iller] so anxious for it . . . Wells is the weakest. Pray send me, to this place, one of Wells' & Pettis' circulars, if any has been printed."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>From Wells' circular issued in the campaign of 1831, printed in the *St. Louis Beacon*, October 6, 1831.

<sup>50</sup>His name appears as solicitor for Nancy Shwimmer, in a petition for divorce in the Circuit Court of Pike county, October term, 1826 (*St. Louis Missouri Republican*, November 9, 1826, ff.).

<sup>51</sup>*St. Louis Missouri Republican*, February 22 to March 15, 1827.

<sup>52</sup>Letter of December 6, 1827, in *Smith Manuscript Collection*.

<sup>53</sup>Letter of June 12, 1828, in *Smith Manuscript Collection*.

At the ensuing session of the legislature Governor Miller submitted Wells' name for attorney general, a reappointment which was approved.<sup>54</sup>

The marriage of Robert W. Wells and Miss Harriet Amanda Rector occurred in Jefferson City on January 20, 1830, the ceremony being performed by Judge George Tompkins, of the Supreme Court.<sup>55</sup> Miss Rector was the daughter of Wharton and Margaret Rector, and was born in 1810.

Throughout the year 1830 Wells' name was linked with those of Lieutenant-Governor Daniel Dunklin, Benjamin O'Fallon, Spencer Pettis, General William Ashley, and William McRee, as a possible Jacksonian Republican candidate for the United States Senate.<sup>56</sup> Subsequently Alexander Buckner was urged to become a candidate.<sup>57</sup> Finally, on November 30, 1830, Colonel Buckner was selected to succeed Barton, being chosen from among a group composed of Governor Miller, William H. Ashley, and William McRee.<sup>58</sup> On the morning of the election Wells withdrew his name.<sup>59</sup>

The death of Spencer Pettis, who was killed in a duel with Thomas Biddle, necessitated a special election for representative in Congress. Wells announced his candidacy in a circular published in the fall of 1831.<sup>60</sup> He stated twelve major planks of his platform including support of the Jackson administration. Concerning his qualifications he said, ". . . I have spent the last eleven years in the study and the practice of the law,"<sup>61</sup> having the greater part of that time an extensive practice. Three sessions, including the revising session, I spent in the General Assembly; and the last six years I have held the office and discharged the duties of Attorney

<sup>54</sup>*Senate Journal*, 5th General Assembly, 1st Sess., 1828-29, p. 49.

<sup>55</sup>*Marriage Book A*, p. 24, in Cole County Recorder's Office. See also *St. Louis Beacon*, January 30, 1830. Due possibly to a typographical error the historian Houck erroneously states that their marriage occurred on July 20, 1820. (Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. 3, p. 25.)

<sup>56</sup>*St. Louis Beacon*, July 29, 1830.

<sup>57</sup>*St. Louis Beacon*, September 9, 1830.

<sup>58</sup>*St. Louis Beacon*, December 9, 1830.

<sup>59</sup>Letter from Falkland H. Martin, who nominated Governor Miller, printed in the *St. Louis Beacon*, January 13, 1831.

<sup>60</sup>*St. Louis Beacon*, October 6, 1831.

<sup>61</sup>This reaffirms the year 1820 as the one in which he began the practice of law.

General of this State . . . . I have practiced law and prosecuted for the State as Attorney General in twenty-one counties . . . .<sup>182</sup>

William H. Ashley, former lieutenant governor and intrepid fur trader, was Wells' chief opponent at this special election, and his circular was published about the same time.<sup>63</sup> Wells' platform was based, among other things, on his opposition to the plan to recharter the United States Bank.<sup>64</sup> At a convention held in Columbia five ballots were taken and Wells led on all of them, Ashley being second. A letter from Columbia to the *St. Louis Beacon* says, "Wells is a good speaker . . . . Wells, besides, was anointed with the right oil, that is to say, the abuse of the opposition; which is a good sign for him."<sup>65</sup> Another letter says, ". . . . The circular of Mr. Wells is the first instance that I have ever remarked, in which the interest of the fur trade is openly espoused by a candidate for Congress."<sup>66</sup>

This campaign was one of considerable public interest and meetings were held in many places. Lewis Bogy was at first a candidate, but withdrew in October. In a speech at St. Louis, Wells came out firmly against the Bank, saying particularly to farmers and mechanics, "I warn you if this bank is rechartered your children will be born with saddles on their backs to be rode through life by a booted and spurred aristocracy."<sup>67</sup> His popularity was shown by the fact that "the largest Jackson meeting ever held in St. Louis" (some 250 to 300 people) recommended Wells as their choice.

Interrupting the heated campaign came the State convention on November 22, to nominate electors and candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor. At this convention Wells, James H. Birch, Nathaniel B. Tucker, and Messrs. Wood and West were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the people. The action of this convention was to

<sup>63</sup>*St. Louis Beacon*, October 6, 1831.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup>*St. Louis Beacon*, October 13, 1831.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup>*St. Louis Beacon*, October 20, 1831.

select Daniel Dunklin as candidate for governor and Lilburn W. Boggs for lieutenant-governor.<sup>68</sup>

Throughout November the State press gave election returns indicating a very close Congressional race. Ashley ran stronger in the central eastern counties, especially St. Louis, and Wells was particularly strong in the Missouri river counties. The final count resulted in a majority of 212 for Ashley.<sup>69</sup>

Quite naturally Wells' ambition for a seat in Congress was whetted by his near-victory, so 1832 found him again actively campaigning. James H. Birch, Fayette editor, was a particular opponent with whom Wells had to deal. However, Wells made a generalization about editors opposed to him, and then the *Missouri Intelligencer*, at Columbia, an Ashley paper, joined the forces against him.<sup>70</sup>

Ashley listed his name for reelection in the St. Louis *Beacon* of April 26, 1832, and in the issue of May 10, 1832, Wells announced himself to run against James H. Birch and Nathaniel B. Tucker. The election was held in August, and final returns in the St. Louis *Beacon* of August 30 gave Wells a vote of 8836, opposed to Ashley's 9498, a majority of only 662 for the latter. This defeat, although by no means overwhelming, seems to have cooled Wells' ardour for political office.

His duties as attorney general no doubt were occupying more and more of his time, for the State was growing rapidly. Mormon difficulties were engaging the attention of northwest Missouri. Mormon leaders appealed to the State government for protection, and the attorney general wrote a letter on November 21, 1833, suggesting that the only legal way for them to secure public arms and ammunition would be to organize a volunteer militia in the regular way and to make application to the State for supplies.<sup>71</sup> When certain Mormon leaders were taken to Independence for trial in 1834 Wells

<sup>68</sup>St. Louis *Beacon*, December 8, 1831.

<sup>69</sup>St. Louis *Beacon*, December 15, 1831.

<sup>70</sup>Columbia *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 30, 1832.

<sup>71</sup>Smith, Joseph, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*. Vol. I, p. 363-64.

acted for the State in investigating the case, but nothing came of it owing to the prejudice of the witnesses.<sup>73</sup>

Shortly after the birth of her third child Mrs. Wells died, on February 3, 1834.<sup>74</sup> Her death, at the age of twenty-four, left Mr. Wells with the added responsibility of rearing the children, William, Mary, and Josephine.

#### APPOINTMENT TO FEDERAL BENCH

In 1836 the death of James Hawkins Peck, United States District Judge of the State of Missouri, created a vacancy which was filled by the presidential appointment of Wells to that post on June 27.<sup>75</sup> This was a position which he was destined to hold until his death. In resigning his position as attorney general of Missouri, however, he ended a tenure which is longer than that of any other attorney general of Missouri.<sup>76</sup> Wells began his new duties in a field embracing the entire State of Missouri.

Judge Wells' office was maintained in the State capitol building, a fact which resulted in his loss of valuable papers and books during the capitol fire of November 15, 1837. Incidentally, in this same fire many valuable State records were destroyed, particularly those in the office of the secretary of state where " . . . the State Seal and all the furniture of the office were consumed . . . " <sup>77</sup>

Two years later, upon the establishment of the State University, Wells was elected a member of the first board of curators, by the House of Representatives.<sup>77</sup> He was to serve a two-year term. At the first meeting of the Board on October 7, 1839, he was present and took an active part.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 408-09. See also *Columbia Missouri Intelligencer*, March 8, 1834.

<sup>74</sup>*Jefferson City Jeffersonian Republican*, February 8, 1834.

<sup>75</sup>*Federal Cases*, Book 30, p. 1401.

<sup>76</sup>*Official Manual of Missouri*, 1933-34, p. 32.

<sup>77</sup>*Jefferson City Jeffersonian Republican*, November 18, 1837.

<sup>78</sup>*House Journal*, 10th General Assembly, 1st Sess., 1838-39, p. 443.

<sup>79</sup>*Manuscript Journal of the Board of Curators*, pp. 1-4. In office of Secretary of the University.

In June, 1840, Judge Wells was married a second time, to a Miss Eliza Covington, of Kentucky.<sup>70</sup> To them were born three children, Eugene, Cornelia, and Juliet.

During this same year Wells served as a member of the Democratic Central Committee.<sup>80</sup> In January, 1841, he wrote to his friend, Dr. John Sappington of Saline county, encouraging him to publish a book on the cure and treatment of fevers.<sup>81</sup>

At the September, 1842, term of court Wells delivered a lengthy opinion on the bankrupt law, expressing the belief that its retroactive features were unconstitutional.<sup>82</sup> His opinion subjected him to some criticism,<sup>83</sup> but it was widely noticed.<sup>84</sup> John Catron, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States who was assisting Wells in the affairs of the Missouri court, disagreed with him and upheld the law.

In 1843 a particularly notable criminal case was brought before the District Court. This was the trial of the murderers of a Mr. Chavis, leader of a Mexican party en route to Independence.<sup>85</sup> The safety of Santa Fe traders was at stake, as were to some extent peaceful relations between the United States and Mexico. A special session was called to take up this case, and the leaders were sentenced to death.<sup>86</sup>

In September, 1843, the Osage River Improvement Convention was held in Jefferson City, and Judge Wells presided during its sessions.<sup>87</sup> His participation in this early movement for improved navigation to the southwest was typical of his public spirit and wide interests.

Judge Wells' opinion was sought on the matter of erecting a state lunatic asylum, and his lengthy letter and report of January 3, 1845, submitted to the legislature, was no

<sup>70</sup>Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri*, p. 540. Verification of this date and of the lady's last name is lacking.

<sup>80</sup>Boonville *Missouri Register*, October 22, 1840.

<sup>81</sup>Letter of January 25, 1841, in the preface to *The Theory and Treatment of Fevers*, by Dr. John Sappington, published in 1844.

<sup>82</sup>Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, September 22, 1842.

<sup>83</sup>Fayette Boon's *Lick Times*, April 29, 1843.

<sup>84</sup>Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, September 7, 1843.

<sup>85</sup>Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, August 10, 1843.

<sup>86</sup>Fayette Boon's *Lick Times*, May 4, 1844.

<sup>87</sup>Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, September 14, 1843.



doubt influential in causing this humanitarian action on the part of Missouri.<sup>88</sup>

He was present at the organization meeting of the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society, on January 20, 1845, and was elected one of eight vice-presidents. He held this position also in 1846, 1847, 1848, 1850, and possibly in 1849.<sup>89</sup>

The State Convention of 1845, called to formulate a new constitution of Missouri, chose Wells, who was a delegate from the 14th district composed of the counties of Cole, Miller, and Morgan, as president. In his election he defeated Abraham Hunter and M. M. Marmaduke. In addition to his duties in the chair, Judge Wells took part in the proposal of measures and in their discussion. He supported a resolution calling for the employment of a reporter to keep records of the Convention, a measure to which we owe our present knowledge of its deliberations.<sup>90</sup> Another of his ideas was that State senators and representatives should be elected by districts which would be formed irrespective of county lines, a plan whereby he hoped to prevent gerrymandering.<sup>91</sup> On the whole, his conduct of the affairs of the Convention was well received, although the *Columbia Missouri Statesman* did voice a brief criticism implying that he was fostering his ambition to become governor of the State.<sup>92</sup> This accusation, however, does not discredit his motives or actions. After the Convention he wrote a lengthy explanation of the proposed Constitution, for public distribution.

The year 1847 is particularly interesting in the review of Wells' career, for it was then that he publicly acknowledged his authorship of the law designing The Great Seal of the State of Missouri, some twenty-five years previous. On February 15, the City of St. Louis held a celebration on the

<sup>88</sup>*Senate Journal*, 13th General Assembly, 1st Sess., 1844-45, *Appendix*, pp. 71-84.

<sup>89</sup>*Annals of Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society*, No. I, 1848. No newspaper report can be found for 1849, but he was re-elected in 1850 according to the *Columbia Missouri Statesman* of February 1, 1850.

<sup>90</sup>*Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, November 22, 1845.

<sup>91</sup>Speech of Wells printed in *Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, December 3, 1845.

<sup>92</sup>*Columbia Missouri Statesman*, December 12, 1845.



anniversary of its founding.<sup>93</sup> Judge Wells was invited to attend and to make an address, but on February 9 he expressed his inability to be present owing to the fact that there were no stages on the south side of the Missouri river, and also that the river itself was impassable. The principal speakers, in his absence, were Edward Bates and Luther Kennett. Their speeches and the celebration received much notice in the State press, so Wells was later able to read an account of the events and the speeches, one of which prompted his article on the Seal.

During 1847 Judge Wells published his views on law reform.<sup>94</sup> He outlined a comprehensive plan for simplifying pleading, shortening the forms of declaring cases, and combining cases in law and equity. Concerning his plan the *Democratic Review* of December, 1847, said, "The author is well known as an enlightened jurist, and his masterly 'opinion' declaring the unconstitutionality of the 'Bankrupt Law' of 1841 has extended his reputation far beyond the limits of Missouri. . . ."<sup>95</sup>

He continued his interest in law reform, and early in 1849 appeared before the State Senate and debated a proposed bill embracing his ideas.<sup>96</sup> He succeeded in having a law modeled after his plan adopted by the General Assembly.<sup>97</sup>

Judge Wells was a member of the Democratic State Corresponding Committee in 1847 and 1848.<sup>98</sup> He was a Benton Democrat.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>93</sup>Report of the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Founding of St. Louis . . . 1847.

<sup>94</sup>Observations on the Pleadings and Practice of the Courts of Justice of Missouri, and a Radical Change Therein Recommended (Jefferson City, 1847). This was first printed in the *Jefferson City Metropolitan* of July 6, 1847.

<sup>95</sup>*Jefferson City Metropolitan*, January 4, 1848.

<sup>96</sup>*Jefferson City, Jefferson Inquirer*, February 3, 1849.

<sup>97</sup>*Laws of Missouri*, 15th General Assembly, 1848-49, pp. 73-109. This act was approved February 24, 1849. It was also published as a separate pamphlet, with the author's notations: *Law of the State of Missouri Regulating Pleading and Practice of the Courts of Justice* . . . (Jefferson City, 1849). See also an article signed "W" in the *Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, January 11, 1851.

<sup>98</sup>*Jefferson City Metropolitan*, March 30, 1847—August 10, 1847; November 23, 1847—September 26, 1848.

<sup>99</sup>*Jefferson City Metropolitan*, June 1, 1847; *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, May 25, 1849; and *St. Genevieve Plaindealer*, June 11, 1853.

For several years the boundary line between Missouri and Iowa had been in dispute, and when it was decreed by the Supreme Court of the United States that a new and definite line be determined, Judge Wells was selected to act with a Mr. Hendershott, of Iowa, in running it.<sup>100</sup> Wells declined to serve, however, and W. G. Minor of Jefferson City was appointed in his place.<sup>101</sup>

The marriage of Miss Mary Wells, eldest daughter of Judge Wells, to Captain M. M. Parsons occurred September 17, 1850.<sup>102</sup> Her father was opposed to this match so the young couple eloped. Later, when Captain Parsons joined the Confederate army, the Judge's anger at him broke out afresh.<sup>103</sup> Mrs. Parsons died in Jefferson City, on July 8, 1853, shortly after the birth of her second child, a daughter, who also died August 3, 1853.<sup>104</sup>

The second daughter of Judge Wells, Josephine A., was married to Dr. Albert Covington, of Bowling Green, Kentucky, on April 28, 1853.<sup>105</sup> It is believed that this marriage was approved by the Judge, as particularly gay wedding festivities are recalled in an article on the Wells mansion in Jefferson City, which still stands.<sup>106</sup>

A new kind of public enterprise enlisted the support of Judge Wells following 1850. On March 13, 1851, the citizens of Jefferson City met to consider means of increasing subscriptions to the Pacific railroad and of giving aid in the construction of plank roads. Wells was made chairman of this meeting, according to the report in the *Jefferson Inquirer* of March 15. On the completion of the Pacific Railroad from St. Louis to Jefferson City in 1855, elaborate

<sup>100</sup>*Liberty Tribune*, May 4, 1849.

<sup>101</sup>*Jefferson City Metropolitan*, January 29, 1850.

<sup>102</sup>*Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, September 21, 1850.

<sup>103</sup>*Reminiscences of Dr. R. E. Young*, in the *Jefferson City State Tribune* January 26, 1901.

<sup>104</sup>*Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, July 9, 1853. See also tombstones in Woodland Cemetery, Lot 12, in Jefferson City. (Their son, Stephen Kearney Parsons, was born August 16, 1851, and died January 24, 1889. The daughter was named Josephine.)

<sup>105</sup>*Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, June 4, 1853.

<sup>106</sup>This house, now known as the Dallmeyer house, is still standing on the corner of the 300 block on East High Street, diagonally across from the Missouri Hotel. It was described by Mrs. Charles E. Dewey in an article in the *Jefferson City Sunday News and Tribune*, December 10, 1933.

plans were laid to celebrate the opening of the line. Wells was vice-president of the general committee in charge of the celebration.<sup>107</sup> On the eventful day, he, his wife, and small son, Eugene, were among the passengers en route from St. Louis. At the crossing of the Gasconade river the new bridge collapsed and precipitated the train into the river, killing and injuring scores of passengers. Judge Wells was badly injured, and his wife and son were both slightly injured.<sup>108</sup> So incensed was the Judge by this disastrous experience that he swore he would never again ride on a train.<sup>109</sup> Whether he ever overruled this judicial opinion or not is unknown.

When not engaged in his judicial duties Wells operated his farms near Jefferson City. In this enterprise he employed a few slaves whom he managed with kindness and tolerance. When asked concerning the progress of his farms he once replied, "Very well, but what troubles me is that Lawyer Wells has to pay too many of Farmer Wells' bills."<sup>110</sup>

The duties of his office having become so heavy, the District of Missouri was divided into Eastern and Western Districts, by an act of Congress on March 3, 1857. By a provision of the act Judge Wells became the first judge of the Western District.

Judge Wells devoted some time to fruit growing, and when a meeting was held in Jefferson City, on January 5, 1859, for the purpose of forming the Missouri Fruit Growers' Association, he was present, thus becoming a charter member of the body which later became the Missouri State Horticultural Society.<sup>111</sup> He helped draw up the constitution of that Society, but after the first year his interest lagged and he is not listed among members at subsequent meetings.

Wells' staunch Union sympathies were evident at the outbreak of the Civil War. He was among the group of Union men which met in private "to agree upon some plan of resistance to the . . . designs of Governor Jackson

<sup>107</sup>Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, October 20, 1855.

<sup>108</sup>Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, November 9, 1855.

<sup>109</sup>Reminiscences of Dr. R. E. Young, in the *Jefferson City State Tribune*, January 26, 1901.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup>*Proceedings of Missouri Fruit Growers' Association, 1859.*

and his followers. . . .<sup>113</sup> His son, Eugene, enlisted in the 12th Infantry, and was commissioned a first lieutenant on May 14, 1861, and was advanced to the rank of captain on September 9, 1863.<sup>114</sup>

When the first Emancipation Convention met in the House of Representatives on June 16, 1862, Judge Wells was a delegate from Cole county, and was unanimously elected president.<sup>114</sup> Again, at the Missouri State Radical Emancipation and Union Convention, which met in Jefferson City on September 1, 1863, he was chosen president, and was the outstanding leader.<sup>115</sup>

During the winter of 1863-64 Judge Wells' health began to fail, but he continued his duties until the completion of the April term of court in St. Louis. He thus served twenty-eight years without missing a term.<sup>116</sup> He then went to Bowling Green, Kentucky, to visit his daughter and son-in-law, Dr. and Mrs. Albert Covington. His health declined while there, and on September 22, 1864, he died at their residence.<sup>117</sup>

Judge Wells' body was brought to Jefferson City for burial, and there rests in Woodland Cemetery beside his first wife, his daughter, and his grandchildren. His second wife and five children survived him. He left no will and his estate was appraised at nearly \$17,000. Included in it were 1,314 acres of farm land, several lots in Jefferson City, eight slaves, 1,301 books, and other personal property.<sup>118</sup>

On learning of his death the *Missouri Republican* said of him: ". . . . Those who knew him best had the highest admiration for his purity of character and wonderful power of analysis. He was learned as a jurist, and had few superiors in any of the qualities which make a model

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<sup>113</sup>Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri*, p. 541.

<sup>114</sup>Heltman, Francis B., *Historical Register and Dictionary of U. S. Army*, Vol. I, p. 1017.

<sup>115</sup>*Proceedings of the Emancipation Convention Held at Jefferson City, June, 1862.*

<sup>116</sup>*Proceedings of the Missouri State Radical Emancipation and Union Convention, Convened at Jefferson City, Tuesday, Sept. 1, 1863.*

<sup>117</sup>St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, September 23, 1864.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup>Records in probate court office, Cole county courthouse, in Jefferson City.

judge . . . . Diligent, conscientious, learned and painstaking—with a mind equal to the highest duties of his position, he commanded the confidence of the whole State during his long official career. He has at last sunk to rest in a ripe old age, with a reputation the proudest might envy and a character upon which no breath of suspicion ever rested. . . .<sup>119</sup> The *Missouri Democrat* expressed a similar high regard for his character and service.<sup>120</sup>

The bar of St. Louis met in the United States Circuit Court room, and held a lengthy memorial service in honor of Judge Wells.<sup>121</sup> Of him "it was said that he did more than any other judge, 'living or dead for the elucidation and correct exposition of the United States statutes on which the land titles of Missouri depend.'"<sup>122</sup>

Robert William Wells nobly typified the pioneer Missourian. Of humble origin, educated through his own industry, he settled in a frontier state and rose to positions of honor and trust. His leadership was recognized and valued in many public and professional enterprises.

As surveyor, lawyer, designer of The Great Seal of the State of Missouri, legislator, attorney general, United States District Judge, president of the Constitutional Convention of 1845 and of two emancipation conventions, member of the first board of curators of the University of Missouri, law reformer, Union advocate, politician, as well as participant in the organization of the earliest state historical society in Missouri, the fruit growers' association, and the Osage river navigation movement, he contributed generously to the development of his adopted state. The high standard of his long judicial service would alone sustain his neglected claim to fame, but his many other services distinguish him as one of the most public spirited men of his time, and one to whom Missouri owes a tribute of recognition and appreciation.

<sup>119</sup>St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, September 23, 1864.

<sup>120</sup>St. Louis *Missouri Democrat*, September 23, 1864.

<sup>121</sup>*Proceedings and Resolutions in the United States Circuit Court on the Death of Hon. Robert W. Wells, U. S. District Judge, Missouri, October 3rd, 1864.*

<sup>122</sup>Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. 3, p. 25.

## THE PANIC AND DEPRESSION OF 1837-43 IN MISSOURI

BY DOROTHY B. DORSEY

The panic of 1819 in Missouri was essentially the product of an exorbitant fever of land speculation which was even more rampant in Missouri than in other parts of the country. As a consequence, the general history of the panic of 1819 in Missouri was much the same as that throughout the United States where similar conditions existed. An examination of the panic of 1837, on the other hand, reveals no such striking parallel between the history of the panic in Missouri and the history of the panic throughout the nation as a whole. For the conditions which precipitated the national calamity were not those, generally, which precipitated the crisis in Missouri. That the State suffered severely during the later years of the panic is indisputable. Yet, as the main outline of the years 1837-1843 in Missouri is unfolded, a distinctly unique and special situation is revealed which enabled the State to weather, as did few other states in the Union, the worst financial storm up to that time known in American history. For this reason, the history of the panic of 1837 in Missouri is of particular and striking interest.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>That the years of the panic of 1837 were less severe in Missouri than elsewhere is generally conceded by Missouri historians. Yet, the limited number of those who have touched upon the panic do so only cursorily without attempting any sort of a systematic, economic analysis of the years which it covered. Most of them omit the panic altogether. The excellent research studies of C. H. McClure on the opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton, of J. R. Cable on the Bank of the State of Missouri, of E. C. Lowrey on internal improvements in Missouri, and of F. F. Stephens on the Santa Fe trade and on the bank question, reveal important aspects of the panic period. They do not, however, attempt an economic survey of the period as a whole, though without them, certainly, none could be constructed. An endeavor to reconstruct what appear to be the main outlines of the panic years in Missouri as derived from a study of these and other researches, supplemented by a close reading of the Columbia and Jefferson City newspapers for the years 1836-44, inclusive, is the purpose of the present paper. Of the limitations of the task, in the light of the limited number of research studies that could be drawn upon and of the very limited further research that could be permitted, the writer is fully conscious. The writer believes, however, that the main outlines of the period were essentially as they are here presented.

Missouri, immediately before the panic of 1837, experienced a period of quickened expansion and growth. The years 1834-1837 were kaleidoscopic years of prosperity as elsewhere throughout the United States. The tide of immigration, which had been precipitately checked following the panic of 1819, set in with renewed vigor during the latter years of the twenties, and, as a result of the unprecedented acquisition of population and wealth which continued with but few interruptions, greatly changed the economic and physical character of the State. Missouri land sales, amounting to 52,432 in 1832, rose to 1,655,687 acres in 1836, while the population of the State increased from 176,277 to 244,208 during the same years. Labor commanded high wages, building proceeded at a great rate in the older towns of the State where numbers of business houses, churches, homes and court houses were built.<sup>2</sup> The streets of St. Louis began to be paved and the river fronts to be improved. The value of every species of property was enhanced.<sup>3</sup> In 1836 the sale of 100 lots in the new town of Glasgow was said to have brought in \$14,000, while a tract of land in St. Louis, reputed to have been bought for two barrels of whiskey, by a citizen then living, was estimated to be worth half a million dollars. Once more St. Louis reveled in her philosophy of "manifest destiny." Her population of 5,582 in 1830 increased to 10,486 by 1836, her total revenues from \$14,291 to \$44,481 in the same period, and her taxable wealth from \$1,830,616 in 1830 to nearly seven and one-half millions in 1837.<sup>4</sup> In the older rural regions, such as the Boonslick country, a specialized type of agriculture with improved homes and

<sup>2</sup>Atwater states that several families of mechanics who came to St. Louis from Baltimore and Pittsburgh in 1829 informed him that living costs in St. Louis were about half what they were in the East, while their wages were fully doubled. (*The Writings of Caleb Atwater* [1833], pp. 212-213.) In 1836 approximately 200 houses were declared to be under construction in St. Louis with another hundred in prospect, provided sufficient workmen and building materials could be procured. (*Jefferson City Jeffersonian Republican*, July 2, 1836.) Similar undertakings are likewise reported by the newspapers in Jefferson City, Lexington and elsewhere; in Jefferson City the construction was said to amount to an addition of nearly 50% in one year. (*Jeffersonian Republican*, August 13, 1836.)

<sup>3</sup>Leopard, Buel, and Shoemaker, F. C., *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* (Columbia, 1922), Vol. I, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup>*DeBow's Review*, Vol. VI, p. 231.



lands began to replace the more primitive type of pioneer farm,<sup>5</sup> while nine new counties were organized in the year 1833 and twelve more were formed before 1837.<sup>6</sup>

The development of steamboat traffic received a most important impetus during the thirties. By 1837, the economies of towns and rural regions were definitely linked in an enterprising era of river "ports" with their economic life centering in the agricultural hinterland and a growing river commerce. By 1836, St. Louis merchants were spending \$350,000 to \$400,000 annually in Pittsburgh for the St. Louis trade.<sup>7</sup> "Ports" such as Jefferson City, Franklin, Boonville, and Rocheport became energetic and thriving centers of commerce on the Missouri. "For several days past the banks of our river have been much enlivened by the daily arrival of steamboats and the appearance of the city much changed by the preparations for business," said the Jefferson City *Jeffersonian Republican* of April 23, 1836. Shortly afterwards, the same paper notes that Portland (in Callaway county) "has tobacco, pork and bacon enough lying on its landing to make a formidable breastwork," and that "the same prospect is presented at most of the other towns on the Missouri."<sup>8</sup>

In addition, by 1837, the Santa Fe trade, the trade of the United States government, the fur trade, the cultivation of tobacco and hemp, and the export of lead were likewise laying the foundations of a substantial money economy and financial prosperity in Missouri. Of these, by far the most important was the Santa Fe trade.

<sup>5</sup>Johnson, Ella, *The Economic Development of the Boonslick Country According to the Missouri Intelligencer*, p. 98. (Typewritten master's thesis in the Library of the University of Missouri, 1931.)

<sup>6</sup>Shoemaker, F. C., *A History of Missouri and Missourians* (Columbia, Missouri, 1927), p. 283.

<sup>7</sup>Wetmore's *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1837), p. 188. Edwards, in his *Great West* (St. Louis, 1860), p. 352, records the then astonishing fact that on November 11, 1835, eight steamboats arrived at the St. Louis wharf, while the report of the local wharf master of St. Louis during the same year showed a business double that of 1831. (Cable, J. R., *The Bank of the State of Missouri*. [New York, 1923], p. 96.) Yet if the *Jeffersonian Republican* for November 5, 1836, is to be believed, the number of steamboats was insufficient for the increased traffic of the country.

<sup>8</sup>*Jeffersonian Republican*, June 14, 1836.



The importance of the Santa Fe trade to the economic development of Missouri can scarcely be overestimated.<sup>9</sup> In 1828 the value of goods taken from central Missouri to Santa Fe was twice as great as in any previous year and was estimated at approximately \$100,000, and in 1831, at \$250,000. In 1837, in a memorial presented to Congress, the trade was valued at one-half million dollars. Even more important, however, than the outfitting of the traders which transformed the region of central Missouri into a veritable hive of industry, was the specie brought back from Santa Fe. In 1824 the amount was estimated at \$180,000. By 1828, most of the silver in circulation, particularly in the western part of the State, was derived from Santa Fe. In 1832 Captain Bent's returning caravan had nearly \$100,000 in coin and bullion and trading parties in 1833, 1834 and 1835 brought back as much. In consideration of the fact that the Mexican dollar and Mexican bullion constituted almost the only source of hard money in Missouri in the years preceding the panic, the hundreds of thousands of dollars brought into Missouri through the Santa Fe trade was of incalculable importance to the economic health and financial stability of the State.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>For an account of the Santa Fe trade and its importance to Missouri see F. F. Stephens, "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade" in the *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. X, No. 4 (July, 1916), pp. 233-262; Vol. XI, No. 3 (April, 1917), pp. 289-312.

<sup>10</sup>So important did Benton consider the specie derived from the Santa Fe trade that he later opposed war with Mexico in 1844 on the grounds that such a war would not only be unjust and wicked but foolish as well, because of the effect it would have on the supply of specie.

The large amount of specie derived from the Santa Fe trade undoubtedly stimulated the land sales at Franklin and partially accounted for the fact that the Franklin land office stood among the first four or five land offices in the United States in the point of land sales. (Stephens, F. F., "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (April, 1917), p. 306.)

Another aspect of the Santa Fe trade was the mule industry. Though Missouri was not to become the mule "kingdom" until later, the industry had its real beginnings during the thirties as a result of the importation of jacks and mules from Santa Fe. The importance of the mule industry, even at this early date, is indicated by letters in the Abiel Leonard correspondence in the Library of the State Historical Society of Missouri. A letter dated October 5, 1835, tells of receiving \$5,500 "for my mules and two bell mares." The mule industry was to add materially to the export trade of central Missouri and was to become a factor in the prosperity of that part of the State.

Of the other outstanding enterprises which account for the prosperity of the Missouri of the late thirties, the deposits of the United States government in St. Louis, made necessary by the land sales and by government purchases for the six frontier military posts and for the Indian agencies, were extremely important. These deposits, amounting to \$744,008.82 in 1832, reached nearly two millions in 1836 and contributed, as did the Santa Fe trade, to the soundness of the business and financial stability of the State.<sup>11</sup> While the amount of revenue derived from the fur trade is speculative, owing to the fact that the trade was monopolized by the American Fur Company of New York, the trade was none the less of considerable importance to St. Louis, where it centered a major branch of the industry, gave rise to a variety of employment and business, and established a direct contact with a large and substantial business institution.<sup>12</sup> Lastly, though the lead industry and the cultivation of tobacco were, comparatively speaking, in their infancy in the late thirties, these industries and the fur trade figured definitely in the plan of the State's economy and constituted growing and substantial sources of wealth. For this reason, and since their expansion was little affected by the years of panic and depression, they contributed substantially to the fundamental

<sup>11</sup>Cable, J. R., *The Bank of the State of Missouri*, pp. 86, 97. Some idea of what the purchases of the government meant in trade is indicated by a single newspaper advertisement in 1829 of the Agent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis which called for 300 head of cattle, 300 head of swine, and 300 fowls for the Osage Agency. (Johnson, *The Economic Development of the Boonslick Country According to the Missouri Intelligencer*, p. 80.) Atwater, in speaking of the large sums spent annually in St. Louis by the Navy and Indian Departments declared that those of the latter "amounted to millions of dollars"—a statement that is probably an exaggeration, but is none the less indicative of the importance of the trade to Missouri. (Atwater, Caleb, *Remarks on a Tour to Prairie Du Chien*. . . . in 1829 [Columbus, 1831], p. 50.) The government deposits in the St. Louis branch of the Cincinnati Commercial Agency enabled it to maintain a big banking business irrespective of conditions in Cincinnati. When the home office was compelled to close the St. Louis branch during the panic of 1837, it had evidently expanded its business on the basis of the government deposits of the St. Louis agency (Cable, p. 97). Upon the winding up of the affairs of the agency, the Bank of the State of Missouri became the depository for the government so that the government continued to deposit in St. Louis.

<sup>12</sup>St. Louis fur exports in 1827 were estimated at \$500,000 a year by a representative of the United States Bank, and at one million in 1829 by the less reliable Atwater.

soundness of Missouri's prosperity in the years preceding the panic.<sup>13</sup>

So firm were the foundations of Missouri's prosperity by 1837 that the national crisis, precipitated in the East and South in the spring and summer of that year, does not seem to have caused any appreciable suffering in Missouri until 1841, while the full force of the panic was not felt until the years 1842 and 1843. The explanation lies in the fundamental soundness of the State's financial structure. No excessive orgy of expanded paper currency and "wild cat" banking, such as had taken place in Missouri to a limited extent before the panic of 1819 and also in other states which went down in the panic of 1837, underlay the prosperity of Missouri. The branch bank of the United States and the branch bank of the Cincinnati Commercial Agency—sound banking institutions—together with the relatively larger amount of specie in Missouri, had tended to check the inflow of the depreciated paper money of neighboring states. As a consequence, the boom in Missouri which preceded the panic was financed by a proportionately smaller inflation. It was not so spectacular, therefore, as that which took place outside her borders. What it lacked in the spectacular, however, it made up in fundamental soundness. For this reason, the financial debacle that was to wipe out approximately \$600,000,000 in debts in the United States, cause an estimated decline of \$2,000,000,000 in values between 1840 and 1843, and an estimated total loss of \$6,000,000,000 between the year

<sup>13</sup>Few figures are available concerning lead mining. As early as 1827, the representative of the United States Bank, who was investigating St. Louis for the bank with the view of establishing a branch bank there, mentioned lead as constituting an "important export." Lead receipts at St. Louis from the Galena mines from 1839 to 1843 show a progressive increase from 375,000 pigs to 584,431, with no diminution for any one year. (*Proceedings of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce in Relation to the Improvement of the Navigation of the Mississippi River* [St. Louis, 1842], p. 14; Skillman, W. D., *The Western Metropolis; Or St. Louis in 1846* [St. Louis, 1846], p. 81.) These figures, it should be noted, cover the worst years of the panic and depression and not the more prosperous years before 1839. The increased cultivation of hemp and tobacco appears to have been the result of a systematic advocacy of their culture carried on by the governor of the State and by numerous newspaper articles. By the early forties their production was increasing by leaps and bounds.

1840 and 1843, alone, was far less severe in Missouri than in other states of the Union.<sup>14</sup>

The panic of 1819, primarily, was responsible for Missouri's remarkable financial record. The Bank of Missouri and the Bank of St. Louis had failed with large losses in 1819 and 1821, and the disastrous collapse of the inglorious Loan Office experiment had saddled the State with its first debt of \$70,000. Before its final liquidation in 1832, the experiment was to cost the State more than \$70,000 and to loom large as a matter for serious consideration in the biennial messages of the governors. As a result of the lesson in unsound banking, and in spite of the fact that the Constitution of 1820 prohibited the incorporation of more than one bank or the establishment of more than one branch at any given session of the legislature, popular sentiment, which had formerly clamored for banks and paper money as the remedy for financial and economic ills during the panic of 1819, developed a devotion to hard money and conservative banking that amounted virtually to a mania. Not until 1837 was a bank finally chartered by the legislature and then only with the most rigid restrictions governing its operation. As a consequence of her sound banking and hard money proclivities, Missouri occupied the unique position of being the only state in the Union, which, prior to 1837, was without a single state bank.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>The expansion of banking in the United States during the thirties is almost incredible. When Jackson began his first term in 1829 there were 330 state banks. His refusal to recharter the United States Bank brought on a scramble for its business and raised the number to 507. The removal of the public deposits in 1833 and the wild speculative mania accelerated by the distribution of the enormous national surplus revenue to the states by the Congressional act of 1836 brought the total to 677. During the year 1836 New York alone chartered eighteen banks, while Massachusetts incorporated or increased the capital stock of fifty-six. (McMaster, J. B., *A History of the People of the United States* [New York, 1906], Vol. VI, p. 339.) Between 1832 and March, 1837, the estimated increase in bank note circulation which attended the establishment of the banks was reckoned at \$80,000,000. (Bourne, E. G., *The History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837* [New York, 1885], p. 14.)

<sup>15</sup>The strong anti-bank sentiment in opposition to the chartering of a State bank is well expressed in the following comment of the *Jeffersonian Republican* of February 27, 1836: ". . . How other states may extricate themselves from the difficulties in which the banks may involve them, is a question not necessary for Missouri to discuss. All we have to do to avoid similar difficulties is to remain just as we are. A society, steeped in error, must take active measures to

The internal improvements mania, too, Missouri escaped. While Indianapolis was celebrating with bonfires Indiana's passage of a bill providing for the expenditure of upward of \$20,000,000 for internal improvements, while debt-ridden Illinois went wild over the adoption of a railroad and canal construction program at a per capita cost of about \$35 for each inhabitant of the state, while the governor of Michigan was urging a people still living for the most part in log cabins to the spending of \$5,000,000 for fantastic railroad and canal schemes, and while Maryland was striving to outdo her wealthier eastern neighbors by proposing that the \$10,000,000 for her equally chimerical projects should be borrowed in Europe—in short, while the whole United States was going mad over the subject of internal improvements—Missouri was digging not a single ditch or laying a single mile of railroad.<sup>16</sup>

That Missouri was thus permitted to escape was not due to the fact that the question of internal improvements was not a lively and important issue in the State.<sup>17</sup> For

reform themselves. But a virtuous people have nothing to do but to remain in *statu quo*...." Again, the same paper stated on April 9: "...we know what have been the results of similar experiments in other states—Kentucky and Missouri for example.... Then let our bankers look to Missouri for precedents to instruct them." See also the *Jeffersonian Republican* for March 12, April 23, and May 14, 1836.

The extent to which the anti-bank sentiment was influenced by the larger national issue of the United States Bank and Jackson's opposition to that institution which is supported is questionable. The fact that the national issue was often connected with the State issue is indicated by the newspapers. In this connection see Stephens, F. F. *Banking and Finance in Missouri in the Thirties*. (Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, 1920.)

<sup>16</sup>For data on the internal improvements projects of the various states see McMaster, J. B., *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1906), Vol. VI, pp. 335-358.

<sup>17</sup>The Constitution of 1820 had recognized the importance of internal improvements and provided for their promotion. By the terms of the enabling act—terms which had conditioned the admission to the Union of other states as well as Missouri—Congress had provided that 5% of the net proceeds of the sales from public lands in Missouri should be used for internal improvements. Of this 5% fund, 3% was to be spent by the State and 2% by the national government for improvements connecting the State with national projects. It was this provision that had caused Missouri to count upon the Cumberland road, since it had passed through other states and had been built under this provision. For the early history of the internal improvements movement in Missouri, see Lowrey, E. C., *Public Improvements in Missouri, 1820-1850*. (Typewritten master's thesis in the Library of the University of Missouri, 1932.)

years, editors, politicians and the people in general had looked forward with eager anticipation to the extension to St. Louis and Jefferson City of the Cumberland road, which never entered the State. Until 1836 high expectations had been entertained that this national road, then completed into Illinois, might be extended to Missouri. Political pressure, repeated legislative memorials to Congress, and public agitation had been strongly exerted to this end. Similar pressing efforts, championed by Benton, to secure Federal aid for the improvement of the Missouri river and the Mississippi river above St. Louis, likewise met with failure,<sup>18</sup> as did also the scheme for a national canal from the lower Mississippi to the east coast of Florida—a project which had greatly interested Missourians.<sup>19</sup> Finally, after a period of railroad excitement culminating in the St. Louis railroad convention of April 20, 1836, and the chartering of eighteen railroad companies by the legislature, involving a total capital stock of \$7,875,000, the depleted condition of the treasury, the bitter opposition of the hard money faction of the State, together with the intervention of the national panic, fortunately prevented the actual construction of a single mile of Missouri's paper laid schemes.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup>From 1836 to 1841 it was said that from the mouth of the Ohio to St. Louis more property had been destroyed by snags than on all the other parts of the Mississippi and its tributaries. Although Congress had provided for snag-boats for the lower river, it had failed to do so for the upper; nor did it provide for the improvement of the navigation of the Missouri, a neglect which was entailing a loss of millions of dollars. Congressional acts of May 23, 1828, March 3, 1829, April 23, 1830, and March 2, 1831, each appropriating \$50,000 for the improvement of the Mississippi and the Ohio, had led Missourians to hope that the actual improvement of the Missouri was to begin. Acts of July 3, 1832, and March 2, 1833, appropriating similar sums for the Mississippi and the Ohio did finally include the Missouri, but only as far as the mouth of the Kansas river. Feeling in Missouri was intense because of Congressional failure to recognize her needs and demands. (Scharf, J. T., *History of St. Louis* [Philadelphia, 1883], Vol. II, p. 1043; Lowrey, E. C., *Public Improvements in Missouri, 1820-1850*, p. 43.)

<sup>19</sup>Leopard, Buel, and Shoemaker, F. C., *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* (Columbia, 1922), Vol. I, p. 123; Lowrey, E. C., *Public Improvements in Missouri, 1820-1850*, p. 42.

<sup>20</sup>See Lowrey, E. C., *Public Improvements in Missouri 1820-1850*, pp. 125-139, 156.

Missouri, surprisingly, did not even apply her share of the surplus revenue to internal improvements. Here again she differed from her less conservative neighbors. The \$382,335 which Missouri received under the Federal act of June 23, 1836, was invested in the stock of the Bank of the State of Missouri,

The following excerpt from the *St. Louis Enquirer* for January 13, 1824, plainly illustrates the early national outlook and the consciousness of an empty treasury, both of which did so much to save Missouri from the internal improvements mania:

... The Missouri river is our great road; and now wants \$20,000 or \$30,000 to repair it. Let it not be said that this should be done by the State. That our treasury is empty is a fact that we could not disguise if we would, and *if it were full*, we could, with as much propriety, require Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York and New England to build the ships and erect the forts which protect their trade and defend their cities, as they can refuse an appropriation for the purpose under consideration.

Again, on the eve of the panic, the following extract from the *Jeffersonian Republican* of March 26, 1836, also indicates the prevailing sentiment:

... But whether the Whigs and trimmers have a majority in the next legislature or not, we shall oppose any project to commit the state, for the next two or three generations to come, whether it be for a railroad or a bank. There can be no objection to chartering a group of *individuals* who are willing to undertake the construction of a railroad *upon their own resources*, if no exclusive privileges are asked for.<sup>21</sup>

In the spring of 1837, following Jackson's issuance of his famous Specie Circular, the European financial crisis of 1836, and the withdrawal on January 1 of the national surplus for distribution among the states, the national panic was precipitated in the South and East. The reaction, however, if one judges from the newspapers, was scarcely felt in Mis-

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chartered in 1837. By legislative provision the interest was to be added to the principle until the fund amounted to \$500,000, or more, after which time the income was to be used for the payment of teachers in the common schools. In 1839, largely as the result of this judicious use of her share of the surplus revenue, Missouri was able to inaugurate her common school system. (See Bourne, E. G., *The History of the Surplus Revenue of 1827* [New York, 1885], p. 80.)

<sup>21</sup>See also, Skillman, W. D., *The Western Metropolis; Or St. Louis in 1846*, p. 77. Though Missouri failed to secure the Cumberland road and was disappointed in the improvement of her rivers, the first only intensified the demand for Federal aid (particularly in the form of land grants), to compensate for what was considered the failure of the government to keep its compact with the State at the time of its admission to the Union, while the second intensified political pressure for the improvement of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, arteries which were properly considered national routes of trade.



souri. By April 8, ninety-eight business failures in New York, involving liabilities of over \$60,000,000, had increased in three days to one hundred and twenty-eight. Thousands of employees were discharged in a few weeks. Provisions, wages, rents and prices came down with a rush. An advertisement in New York for a single stone cutter at \$12 a month brought almost immediately 600 applicants. Riots and indignation meetings protested the high price of bread. Shin-plasters of corporations and the tickets of hotels, coffee houses, and storekeepers flooded Philadelphia and New York.<sup>22</sup> Illinois, unheeding the handwriting on the wall, by acts of March 2 and 4, 1837, increased the capital of the state bank from two and one-half to four and one-half million dollars and that of the Bank of Illinois from \$300,000 to \$1,700,000, in order to finance her internal improvement schemes, while Michigan, by the end of 1838, had chartered twenty-one banks.

In Missouri, on the other hand, the precipitation of the panic found a different situation. The Bank of the State—Missouri's first bank in sixteen years—was opened in May, as though no panic existed. While bank after bank in the South, East and West was suspending specie payment, the Bank of the State of Missouri was, from the day it opened, a specie paying bank. On the first of June, the bank announced the purchase of the accounts of the St. Louis branch of the Cincinnati Commercial Agency; in August, the bank was designated the bank of deposit for the United States government; in September—while Congress was convened in special relief session—the notes of the bank were commanding a premium of  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  over the notes of all other western banks. In July, the contractors for the new State House at Jefferson City called for one hundred laborers and a number of stone cutters and at the same time the *Jeffersonian Republican* declared that labor "was not to be had at any price." Specie continued to flow into Missouri through the Santa Fe trade and the government continued to make deposits despite the enormous slump in land sales. Steamboat

<sup>22</sup>See McMaster, J. B., *A History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 389-407.



captains remarked the comparative plenty of specie in Missouri. The Bank of the State, taking advantage of a temporary suspension resorted to before the close of 1837 in order to protect itself from the general suspension (particularly that in Illinois), was able to sell \$100,000 in specie to the United States Bank in Philadelphia at a premium of two per cent.

The following excerpt concerning "the times", taken from the *Jeffersonian Republican* for May 5, 1838, and quoted by it from the *Boonslick Democrat*, is typical of comments on conditions in Missouri:

The federal candidates seem to rely greatly for success on what they term the ruined condition of the country—without knowing anything about the facts—one would suppose that war, pestilence and famine pervaded the land. Yet, when you ask one of these doleful patriots to point out the ruin and distress upon which they are so eloquent, they refer you to some of the eastern cities where the fever of speculation and wild adventure have raged to an unexampled excess. . . . That distress does prevail to a certain extent, in those cities which have been seized with the mania of wild speculation, we never entertained any doubt. . . . For the past two or three years an extraordinary desire for the sudden accumulation of wealth without labor, has diverted thousands from the path of sober industry. . . . and [they] are now paying the penalty of their own folly. . . .

Let us take for example our own State: Look at the price of produce of all kinds—the high price of land—the extraordinary demand for labor, and the high wages. There is not an industrious and prudent man in the State who is not better off now than he was two years ago. In the name of all that is candid then, where is the distress which the federal candidates would persuade us is pervading the country. . . . ?<sup>23</sup>

In 1839 the lack of an adequate currency in the State to meet the pressing demands of civic and business enterprise precipitated a crucial contest between the Bank of the State of Missouri, which had suddenly refused to expand its circulation, and the business interests of St. Louis.<sup>24</sup> In consequence of the second general national suspension which had followed a brief period of the resumption of specie payment only to give way to suspension again, the bank, in order to protect itself and to maintain its integrity, declared on

<sup>23</sup>See also, Leopard, Buel, and Shoemaker, F. C., *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 336.

<sup>24</sup>See Cable, J. R., *The Bank of the State of Missouri*, pp. 179-187.

November 12, 1839, that it would no longer receive on deposit the notes of those neighboring states which had suspended specie payment. Thereupon, St. Louis business men whose customers, particularly in Illinois, had no means of payment except in the notes of suspended banks, registered indignant protest. Mass meetings were called and resolutions were passed against the drastic action of the bank. The bank, however, stood adamant, refusing even the offer of eleven of the city's outstanding business men to endorse the outlawed currency and to indemnify the bank for any losses it might suffer in rescinding its resolution. In the face of the bank's refusal, the merchants began to remove their deposits. From January 1, 1840, to January 1, 1841, the deposits of the bank fell from \$1,174,532 to \$322,909 and notes of other banks from \$212,465 to \$42,345. On one day withdrawals exceeded deposits by \$20,000. At this particular time, however, the government deposited heavily. Also, the Santa Fe traders came to the assistance of the bank with \$45,000. Following the run, the government land office within a brief period deposited \$162,000, so that the bank was later able to report specie holdings of \$570,000. Thus was the bank permitted to emerge from its ordeal shaken but triumphant and with the distinction of having been the only bank in the West that did not suspend specie payment.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, until the middle of 1841, surprising evidences continue to point to comparative prosperity in Missouri. Aside from the sharp but brief reaction that took place in St. Louis, which, no doubt, did cause temporary acute suffering, and some few notices of bankruptcies and sheriff's sales, together with infrequent references to the difficulty of the times, the second nation-wide suspension of the banks in

<sup>25</sup>In spite of the widespread criticism of the bank at the time, its historians generally consider that its conduct toward the merchants was justified on the grounds of self-protection. The paper of the United States Bank had gone to protest in October and a general suspension had followed in the East, South and West. The alarming condition of the suspended banks of Illinois caused the governor of that state to convene the legislature in the special session of 1839-40. The St. Louis *Missouri Argus*, in defending the bank, declared that for it to attempt to hold up \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000 of bad Illinois paper would have been suicidal and would have done no good. The price to the *Argus* for its support of the bank was that it was soon deprived of its subscribers and sold at a forced sale.

1839 failed to produce in Missouri, as it did elsewhere, immediate disastrous effects. Though Missouri land sales declined considerably in 1840 and still more in 1841, when they fell to the 1838 level, after soaring in 1839 to 1,038,065 acres in consequence of the temporary revival of the speculative mania that had succeeded the temporary resumption of specie payment in 1838, the decline appears to have caused no corresponding slump in land values. In this respect Missouri again occupied an enviable position in contrast to many other states. The approximately seven and one-half million dollar assessed valuation of property in St. Louis for 1837, for example, instead of decreasing, rose in 1841 to approximately nine million dollars.<sup>26</sup> Farm lands, also, according to a study of six Missouri counties, appear to have suffered no drastic decline. The lands of these counties, valued at an average of \$3.88 an acre in 1831, had increased to \$6.23 in 1841.<sup>27</sup> The decline in land sales, likewise, does not appear to have caused a proportionate decrease in the benefits derived from immigration, such as had been the case following

<sup>26</sup>*De Bow's Review*, Vol. VI, p. 231. Here the essential soundness of real estate development in Missouri is indicated in spite of the fact that the city limits of St. Louis had been extended in 1839 and again in 1841. The approximately seven and one-half million dollar assessed valuation in 1837 had soared from scarcely more than two millions in 1835. That there was not a severe slump following the boom seems remarkable. By contrast, according to the *Jeffersonian Republican* for November 4, 1837, the decline in the assessed valuation of property in New York City for 1837 amounted to \$37,292,194 for real estate and to \$8,461,376 for personal property, making a grand total of \$45,753,570. While land prices had been high in Missouri they do not seem to have equaled the exorbitant prices elsewhere. Edward's *Great West* says of the development of St. Louis prior to the panic: "Our advancement has not been stimulated by feverish excitement, nor can it be said to have increased in the same ratio as many other places, but it has been firm and steady, and nothing is permanent which is not gradual. The prosperity of our city is laid deep and broad. . . ." Also: " . . . Its prosperity was a solid prosperity, not a pampered state of things brought about by a plethoric paper currency, but a healthy increase in all departments of business springing from natural and salutary causes. . . ." See also, Scharf, J. T., *History of St. Louis*, Vol. II, p. 1125, note 1.

While it is true that Missouri had her famous William Muldrow and equally famous Marion City—than which there was no more ridiculous fiasco in the country—speculative towns such as those which characterized Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, and Missouri prior to the panic of 1819, were notably absent in Missouri. It is to be noted that the promoters of Marion City were from the East, and that the town was "boomed" there, as were the important speculative towns of the day, and that those who bought land and came to Marion City were not from the Ozarks, but were, for the most part, from east of the Alleghenies.

<sup>27</sup>*Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (July, 1824), p. 587.

the panic of 1819. For, in spite of the national depression, the extension of Missouri's northwest boundary in 1837 by the Platte Purchase, the Santa Fe trail through the heart of the State, the development of river transportation, the extension of trails into the southwest, and the location of the capital at Jefferson City, all influenced the further expansion of the population into the areas north and south of the earlier Missouri river settlements.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the outfitting of immigrants and of Santa Fe traders continued to be an important and lucrative business.

Building, likewise, does not appear to have been precipitately checked. In 1839, the mechanics of St. Louis, anticipating the labor union movement in Missouri, called a meeting which led to the formation of a Mechanics Exchange. During the same year Christ Church was built and a considerable addition to the court house was authorized by the St. Louis county court. On April 1, 1841, the Planter's House, "The largest hotel west of the mountains," was opened in St. Louis. In Lexington, where business was declared to be "so brisk" that the men had no time to shave themselves, ninety new buildings were constructed after January 1, according to the *Columbia Patriot* of October 30, 1841, while the completion of "at least two hundred more" was anticipated during the next year. In Columbia, boasted the *Patriot* of August 28, 1841, thirty-two new buildings had been erected during the past year, exclusive of the University and the home of the president.

Glimpses of the Santa Fe trade, the steamboat traffic, the fur trade and the lead, tobacco and hemp industries are likewise revealing. Mention has already been made of the assistance rendered by the Santa Fe traders to the Bank of the State of Missouri during the crisis of 1839. By 1842 the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce estimated the trade as worth \$400,000 annually.<sup>29</sup> In 1840, 285 steamboats, with an aggregate tonnage of 49,800, were engaged in the Miss-

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<sup>28</sup>Burt, H. J., *The population of Missouri . . .* (University of Missouri, College of Agriculture, Research Bulletin No. 188, 1933), p. 31.

<sup>29</sup>*Proceedings of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce in Relation to the Improvement of the Navigation of the Mississippi River* (St. Louis, 1842), p. 21.

issippi and Missouri river trade. Two years later, the number had increased to 450, and the aggregate tonnage to 90,000.<sup>30</sup> The number of arrivals and departures of steamboats at St. Louis likewise shows an increase, and in 1841, the *Missouri*, the largest steamboat on the western waters, was constructed for St. Louis in Pittsburgh at a cost of \$45,000.<sup>31</sup> In 1841 the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce estimated the fur trade as "greatly exceeding" one-half million dollars.<sup>32</sup> The increase of lead shipments to St. Louis from the Galena mines rose from 375,000 pigs in 1839 to 473,599 in 1842, while the total receipts from the lead trade, according to the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, amounted to \$1,300,000.<sup>33</sup> Tobacco and hemp, likewise, show a substantial increase, the St. Louis warehouse inspections of the former increasing from 415 hogsheads in 1841 to 1,750 in 1842, while the production of hemp for the State, amounting to 1,500 to 1,600 tons in 1840, was estimated (including the production of Illinois) at 10,000 tons in 1842.<sup>34</sup> In addition, after 1840, timber was rafted from the north to St. Louis, where it was manufactured and supplied to a wide market; St. Louis also received cypress from the lower Mississippi, poplar from Tennessee, and hardwoods from Missouri.<sup>35</sup> Nine steam sawmills at St. Louis in 1841 cut annually about 8,000,000 feet of timber.<sup>36</sup> By 1841, St. Louis was beginning to build her own steamboats; boats built or building for the opening of the trade of 1842 were valued at \$519,900, while the estimated valuation for

<sup>30</sup>Scharf, J. T., *History of St. Louis*, Vol. II, pp. 1103-1104. According to the *Columbia Patriot* for March 19, 1842, the 25 to 30 steamboats on the Missouri alone in 1841 transported 46,000 tons of freight "as nearly as could be ascertained."

<sup>31</sup>Scharf, J. T., *History of St. Louis*, Vol. II, p. 1103.

<sup>32</sup>*Proceedings of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce in Relation to the Improvement of the Navigation of the Mississippi River*, p. 16.

<sup>33</sup>The region around Galena was exporting, by way of St. Louis, six or seven hundred thousand dollars worth of lead each year, the greater part of it to the Atlantic seaboard. (Dowrie, G. W., *The Development of Banking in Illinois, 1817-1863*, p. 91. Doctor's dissertation, University of Illinois, 1913.)

<sup>34</sup>*Proceedings of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce in Relation to the Improvement of the Navigation of the Mississippi River*, p. 14; Skillman, W. D., *The Western Metropolis; Or St. Louis in 1846*, p. 81.

<sup>35</sup>Lippincott, Isaac, *Economic Development of the United States* (New York, 1928), p. 199.

<sup>36</sup>*Proceedings of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce in Relation to the Improvement of the Navigation of the Mississippi River*, p. 13.

the season was placed at \$600,000 to \$650,000.<sup>37</sup> These and other figures could be cited as substantial evidence that Missouri was able to progress in spite of the national panic and that money and labor had not been withdrawn from productive enterprise in Missouri as elsewhere in the United States.

Another fact which speaks eloquently for the condition of Missouri was the comparative insignificance of her public debt. On October 1, 1840, the State debt amounted to \$404,631.27—a sum considerably less than the annual interest on the State debt of Illinois, which in 1841, was \$17,000,000.<sup>38</sup> In 1837 and 1839, Missouri twice attempted to float State bond issues. Fortunately, the years chosen were bad years for such attempts and both issues were failures. Governor Reynolds, speaking of this fortunate state of affairs in Missouri in his inaugural address of 1840, said: “. . . . If the bank had been successful in the sale of the bonds and in borrowing the trust fund . . . the state would now be pledged on these accounts alone . . . to the extent of upwards of seven million dollars. When we reflect upon the vast indebtedness of many of the states . . . we have reason to congratulate ourselves. . . .” In 1840, Captain A. Harris of the United States Army declared Missouri, financially, to be the soundest state in the Union.<sup>39</sup>

The effect of the panic found its chief expression in Missouri in the contest which it fanned to flames between the

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>38</sup>As small as was Missouri's debt in 1840, as compared with the debts of other states, it would have been scarcely a third what it was but for the building of the new State capitol (\$195,000) and the payments, amounting to \$100,000, for the volunteers in the various wars from 1832-1840. (*House Journal*, 11th G. A., 1840-41, p. 547.)

<sup>39</sup>Stephens, F. F., "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade," in the *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (April, 1917), p. 312.

In view of the movement among certain states for the assumption of the state debts by the national government, Benton, late in 1839, became the champion in Congress of anti-assumption resolutions which declared that the assumption of the state debts would be unconstitutional, unjust, unwise, impolitic and dangerous. Upon Benton's resolutions, with those of others, being referred to a select committee a report was returned by the committee which severely lectured the sovereign states of the Union. It announced the state debts to be \$200,000,000 and stated that the sound states should not be called upon to pay the debts of those who by gambling and reckless speculation had fallen into bankruptcy. (McMasters, J. B., *A History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VI, p. 543.)

soft and hard money factions of the State. The hard money faction, whose idol was Benton, bitterly opposed any inflation of the currency or the circulation in Missouri of the notes of non-specie paying banks of neighboring states.<sup>40</sup> The soft money faction, on the other hand, demanded an increase in the currency and increased banking facilities to finance the rapidly expanding business enterprise of the State. Of this faction—the Whigs—St. Louis was the stronghold, so that the contest finally narrowed down to a bitter rivalry between the business interests of St. Louis and the hard money faction of the State for control of the State's financial policy.

Up to 1839 the inflationists had been kept under control. The strong demand for a bank, upon which the exciting election campaign of 1836 had been waged, had culminated in the chartering and opening in 1837 of the Bank of the State of Missouri. As has been stated, this was Missouri's first bank in sixteen years. Restrictive safeguards in the charter, however, had guaranteed the operation of a sound banking institution, while an act passed shortly after the chartering of the bank had provided for the expulsion from the State of the agencies of foreign banks.<sup>41</sup> In January, 1839, a second branch had been established at Palmyra. Yet, in the fall and winter of that year, when the strong business interests of St. Louis attempted to force the bank to accept

<sup>40</sup>The hard money principles of Benton—"Old Bullion"—which wielded such a tremendous influence in Missouri and in Congress during the thirties and forties have been attributed to his bitter experiences in the failure, in 1821, of the Bank of Missouri in the affairs of which he had been heavily involved as a director and borrower. (See Cable, J. R., *The Bank of the State of Missouri*, pp. 72ff.)

<sup>41</sup>Though the State Bank was the main issue in the election of 1836, both the Democrats and the opposition favored the establishment of some sort of State bank, as such an institution was really needed both to supplement the inadequate supply of currency and to act as a check upon the circulation in Missouri of the cheap paper of foreign banks which was flooding the State. The main issue, then, was not the establishment of a bank but the question of control and the size of the notes which the bank should be permitted to issue. The Democrats favored a large amount of State control and the issue of large notes while the opposition advocated larger individual control and the issue of smaller notes which would be more convenient in trade. As the Democrats won the election, their conservative policies had the upper hand in the formulation of the bank's charter. (See Newhard, Leota, *The Beginnings of the Whig Party in Missouri 1824-1848*, p. 66. [Typewritten Master's thesis in the Library of the University of Missouri, 1928]; McClure, C. H., *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*, pp. 12-15.)



the notes of the non-specie-paying banks of Illinois and other neighboring states in the contest which has been described, the hard money element had emerged triumphant and the integrity of the bank had been assured.

By 1840, however, the situation had changed. The contest precipitated in 1839 between the bank and the business interests of St. Louis had brought the action of the bank and the problems growing out of it into the bitter feuds of the political arena. By 1840 a sufficient number of Democrats in St. Louis had become dissatisfied with the hard money policy of their party to greatly strengthen the forces clamoring for a more liberal banking policy in St. Louis and to make possible, eventually, the control of political leaders and elections by the soft money interests of the city. The result, on the one hand, was a distinct tendency towards lax and even illegal banking methods in St. Louis, and, on the other hand, an intensification of the bitter struggle between the "Hards" and "Softs" throughout the State.<sup>42</sup>

The tendency towards lax banking methods had grown up in St. Louis as a result of the demand for increased banking

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<sup>42</sup>C. H. McClure in his *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*, (p. 23), thus explains the apparent anomaly which grew up in Missouri of a frontier element demanding hard money and a business element demanding soft: "... In Missouri the situation was a special one. The personal influence of Benton and the fact that he advocated hard money, no doubt, had much to do with public opinion. The experiences of Missouri in the money panic of 1819... probably had much to do with it. The people were told that the bankers and money changers were getting rich from their losses.... Thus sentiment was created against banking at just the right time to cause banking restrictions to be placed in the Constitution. Later, when the Bank of Missouri was chartered, Benton's political friends succeeded in providing against the issue of small notes. Then came the efforts of the "Hards" to prevent the circulation of small notes of banks of other states. The lack of currency in St. Louis really crippled business and when the Bank of Missouri refused to deal in the currency of suspended banks in 1839, the insurance and other incorporated companies began a business in this depreciated currency. The Hards then attacked the corporations and vested interests of St. Louis and claimed that the losses of the people contributed directly to enrich the monopolies of St. Louis. Thus a direct antagonism was created between St. Louis and the frontier counties of the State.... The result was the phenomenon of a business community which might be expected to favor a sound currency favoring cheap money and striving to introduce the depreciated bank notes of the banks of other states in order to supply the dire necessities of trade, while on the other hand, the frontiersman, because he thought he was being robbed by the vested interests of St. Louis through the depreciated currency, was strictly in favor of hard money."



facilities and an enlarged currency, St. Louis being the natural commercial center not only of Missouri but of Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin.<sup>43</sup> After 1839 this tendency was perceptibly increased, for the commercial interests of St. Louis, thwarted by the refusal of the Bank of the State of Missouri to deal in the paper of non-specie-paying banks, had withdrawn their deposits and placed them with insurance and other incorporated companies, which, under cover of their charters, were engaged in an illegal banking business.<sup>44</sup> These companies, of which the St. Louis Gas Light Company was one, thus became outstanding banking agencies through which St. Louis merchants conducted their business. By 1840, according to the *Jefferson Inquirer*, fifteen of these incorporated companies of St. Louis had forced into circulation more than a million dollars of the paper of Illinois and other non-specie-paying banks. In addition, what appears to have been political pressure on the Bank of the State of Missouri effected the recession on March 12, 1841, of the bank's resolution of November, 1839.<sup>45</sup> Finally, in 1841, St. Louis and St. Louis county, in order to meet the demand for small change and in spite of the State law prohibiting the issuing of notes of small size, commenced the issue of city warrants, popularly called "shinplasters", in denominations of one, two, and three dollars—an example which was followed in 1842 by Boonville, Jefferson City, Rocheport, Hannibal, and Boone county. The result was the presence in St. Louis, and throughout the State generally, of so many kinds of paper that elaborate reports, quotations and counterfeit detectors were necessary to keep track of the fluctuations in the currency.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup>McClure, C. H., *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>45</sup>*Columbia Patriot*, March 20, 1841.

<sup>46</sup>The issuing of shinplasters by cities and individuals had begun in the East in 1837 and the situation in Missouri in 1841 and 1842 was but a reflection of the situation which existed outside her borders. Specie, in respect to which Missouri was more fortunate than most states, though she had little enough when it came to the legitimate needs of business, had become almost non-existent. By July, 1839, "every packet, every steamship that left New York" carried out specie to England where crop failures and other conditions had precipitated an acute financial crisis. When the *Great Western*, sailed in 1839 she carried out more than half a million in specie. The *British Queen*, a week later, went off

The resulting financial situation is thus described by the *Jefferson Inquirer* of December 17, 1840:

... Our small channels of circulation are now filled entirely with the most filthy, tattered, illegible, irredeemable paper trash which has ever been dignified with the name of currency. All of these, of course, are the issues of foreign corporations, from Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana and Louisiana. . . . It is amazing that there should be found in the city a single intelligent and respectable citizen who should be opposed to the banishment of small notes and of eradicating this loathsome nuisance with which our city has for years been infested. . . .

Concerning the insurance companies of St. Louis which dealt in the above "paper trash" the same issue of the *Inquirer* contains the following:

These banking companies do the ROBBING on the most elastic and finished scale. They borrow some hundred thousand dollars of small notes apiece from the shinplaster banks of Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee. . . . at the cost of the ink, lamp-black and rags used in their manufacture, and in this way they do banking. Agents are employed to pass them off in the interior of our state (as counterfeiters put their base coin in circulation), and to get as much specie as they can from the ignorant country folk. *This specie is packed off to St. Louis and sent East.* Well, when the countryman comes to St. Louis with his shinplasters, nobody can be found to father them, and the farmer must pay fifteen per cent. more for his goods than they are worth in the specie which he has been gulled out of by the shinplaster pedlers. This is just the way in which the population of St. Louis is taxed to the amount of one half of their honest earnings by corporation banking in St. Louis. How is it that the Gas Light Bank, the Mutual Insurance Bank, the Perpetual Bank and a dozen others, are building Biddle palaces, supporting flocks of Presidents, Cashiers, Clerks, porters, &c., &c., all glittering and slick and fat as stable kine which is a fact? . . .

If the Red Dog, Wild Cat and Monkey Banks of Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, &c., which have grappled with the throats of the people of those states, and worried them in the dust, have spread dismay, desolation and misery wherever their infernal influence could insinuate itself, what will the banking insolence of these St. Louis corporations bring about,

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with \$700,000. Similar shipments continued for a long period of time. As a result of the severe pressure upon the money market, many states had had to contract loans to pay the interest on their bonds. In Michigan, in 1842, there was not enough money on hand to pay the members of the legislature and in Baltimore the currency consisted almost entirely of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad orders or notes issued on city stock. Similar conditions prevailed throughout the United States generally. (See McMaster, J. B., *A History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 524-533, 623-630; Vol. VII, pp. 1-14.)

which have forced into circulation upwards of a million of Cairo, Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin rags utterly irredeemable, illegal, and floating about like scum, debasing the circulation and of no more intrinsic value than so much dirt, pound for pound?....

Efforts of the hard money faction to eliminate the paper currency of foreign banks from Missouri, to check the operations of the insurance companies, and to put a stop to the issues of city and county warrants were pressed with fiery crusading zeal by the Democratic newspapers of the State. Violent attacks were made upon the financial practices of St. Louis and upon the financial conditions which prevailed generally in the states throughout the nation. But before legislative control of the uncurbed activities of public and private corporations could be effected, Missouri reaped the consequences. The unhealthy financial expansion centering in St. Louis, the natural reaction to external financial and business conditions which was tending increasingly to be felt, and the final climatic collapse of the financial structure of Illinois and of the nation generally in 1842—all precipitated upon Missouri the hard times of the latter part of 1841, and of 1842 and 1843.

But for the national banking collapse of 1842 it could probably be said that no panic took place in Missouri. The financial collapse of that year, however, definitely drew Missouri into the main current of the panic. By the close of the year ending June 30, 1842, one hundred and fifty-two banks in the United States had closed their doors, while the rest had greatly reduced their circulation preparatory to the coming resumption of specie payment.<sup>47</sup> The capital of these institutions, according to the *Jefferson Inquirer* of September 22, 1842, amounted to more than \$100,000,000.

Of those states affected by the general financial collapse whose notes were widely circulated in Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan were outstanding. In Illinois, in spite of a legislative investigation which had revealed startling abuses in the management of the State Bank, matters had gone from bad to worse, until, in 1842, the whole financial

<sup>47</sup>Dowrie, G. W., *The Development of Banking in Illinois, 1817-1863*, p. 104.

structure of the state had become involved and every incorporated bank in Illinois had been compelled to close its doors.<sup>48</sup> By December, the chaotic condition of the currency had reduced the people to the necessity of resorting to barter. In Wisconsin, the Bank of Mineral Point had failed in 1841 with heavy losses, following the revocation by the legislature of the charters of the Green Bay and Milwaukee banks in 1839 because of irregularity in their management.<sup>49</sup> Finally, in Michigan, by the end of 1839, forty-two banks had passed into the hands of receivers so that the state was forced to resort to an issue of scrip in April, 1841—an issue which furnished virtually the only currency to be had in the state.<sup>50</sup>

Meanwhile, in Missouri, the newspapers vividly reflected the conditions in the State as a result of the external financial situation. December 18, 1841, the *Columbia Patriot* published the following from the St. Louis *Missouri Argus* in regard to the notes of the Bank of Cairo which furnished about 70% of the small notes in circulation in the region tributary to St. Louis in 1840:<sup>51</sup>

These bills are now useless to the holders because the Bank Insurance Companies refuse to take them. As the business men can not pay their obligations with these bills, they of course will not take them....

The consequence is that the bills are selling today from 15 to 20 per cent. discount, the brokers refusing to buy at any price. All this because the Gas Light refused longer to take them....

We understand arrangements are on foot to restore the credit of the bills—if they are perfected, we will take the notes in payment of dues, but not otherwise.

Two months later, notes on the Bank of Cairo were no longer quote.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 59-130.

<sup>49</sup>Thwaites, R. G., *Wisconsin, The Americanization of a French Settlement* (Boston, 1908), p. 283.

<sup>50</sup>Cooley, T. M., *Michigan, A History of Governments* (Boston, 1885), pp. 272-277.

<sup>51</sup>Dowrie, G. W., *The Development of Banking in Illinois, 1817-1863*, p. 126.

<sup>52</sup>The St. Louis bank note chart published in the *Columbia Patriot* for February 12, 1842, includes the following quotations:

Bank of Missouri.....	12-2 prem
do do Branches.....	8 prem
City warrants.....	1 dis
State Bank of Illinois.....	par standard

On February 19, 1842, the same paper contains the following notice, indicative of the fluctuation that had begun in the currency of Missouri, a fluctuation which appears to have been intensified and augmented by the evident effort of Ohio to "dump" her Illinois paper in Missouri as a preliminary move toward the resumption of specie payment by her banks:

We find it entirely useless to correct our money table. There are no regular rates for anything. Illinois money is invested pretty freely in groceries and produce by merchants from Ohio. We are thus getting rid of articles which we can very well spare at fair prices—which is much better than to provide specie and exchange for the Ohio speculators in Illinois money.

One of our brokers is exchanging Illinois funds for specie at 20 per cent. discount. Kentucky is bought at 10 per cent prem. and Indiana at 6 per cent. The enormous rate for specie is, most probably, paid on account of foreign Brokers, who, having bought the notes at a heavy discount can afford to sell them in the same way.

Illinois paper has improved a little in Cincinnati, in consequence of the sale of groceries and produce sent thither from this city [St. Louis] and a good deal of paper may have been retired from that market. But it is to be recollected that, the Ohio banks are to resume specie payment on the 4th of March; that such of them as can are preparing to do so; that they see in the purchase of Illinois funds there at a discount, and their subsequent sale here, for specie or Exchange, one means of doing so, and with less loss than in any other way. New men, the Agents of these Banks, are therefore seeking to convert Illinois funds into available means, and we fear that, as it is not the interest of the Ohio banks to sustain this paper, they will send it to this market as rapidly as possible for conversion into specie or exchange. (From the *St. Louis New Era*.)<sup>52</sup>

By the summer of 1842, the banking situation in Illinois had become hopeless and hard times gripped Missouri. In

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Bank of Cairo.....	
Miners Bank of Dubuque.....	1 dis
Wisconsin Marine Ins. Co.....	1 dis
Bank of Mineral Point.....	no sale
Bank of Illinois.....	par
Ohio country, generally.....	3 to 5 dis
.....	
U. S. Bank Notes.....	50 dis
.....	
Arkansas Bank.....	50 dis

<sup>52</sup>See also, *Columbia Patriot*, February 12, 26, June 25, July 16, 1842; *Jefferson Inquirer*, July 7, 1842.

the words of the *Jefferson Inquirer* of September 1, 1842: ". . . The citizens of St. Louis are now reaping the bitter fruit of the policy they forced upon the people and for which they so loudly clamored, of making suspended paper the standard of value and receivable in all transactions at par. . . ." Prices fell. City scrip depreciated.<sup>54</sup> Notices of bankruptcies, sheriff's sales, lengthy court dockets and of lands for sale for taxes filled the newspapers. Bacon fell to one cent a pound in Boone county. Hogs sold at \$1.25 and \$1.50 apiece while deer hams brought a quarter. A cow brought \$5.00 and horses \$25, \$35 and \$40. Wheat sold in Monroe county at twenty-five cents a bushel and oats at twelve and one-half cents. On August 12, the *Columbia Patriot* carried the announcement of the collector of Boone county that taxes to the amount of \$500 could be paid in corn at the rate of 50 cents per barrel, while the *Jefferson Inquirer* announced that produce such as wood, flour and meal would be taken in payment of subscriptions. The *Columbia Patriot* for July 28, 1843, carried a notice of a "first rate piano forte" for sale for wheat. The single issue of the *Inquirer* for March 31, 1842, contained 252 notices of bankruptcies and on June 11, the *Patriot* announced that three hundred to four hundred applicants had taken the benefit of the national bankrupt law.<sup>55</sup> These and similar items received frequent notice in the *Columbia* and *Jefferson City* newspapers of late 1841, 1842 and 1843.

<sup>54</sup>According to the *Jefferson Inquirer* of September 22, 1842, St. Louis scrip was quoted at 18 and 20 per cent discount and on October 13, at 30 per cent discount. See also *Jefferson Inquirer* for October 20, 1842.

<sup>55</sup>The national bankruptcy law passed August 19, 1841, during the special relief session of Congress, was bitterly opposed by the Democratic press in Missouri and by Benton. It was, stated the *Inquirer*, the means of affording the debtor "the glorious privilege of paying off all his creditors without giving them anything." After a bitter campaign of opposition against it the law was finally declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1843, but not until \$600,000,000 in debts were wiped out by bankruptcy proceedings between 1840 and 1843. (Stevens, W. B., *Centennial History of Missouri* [St. Louis, 1921], Vol. II, p. 447.)

Though the number who took advantage of the national bankruptcy act in Missouri was no doubt large, here again, interest is afforded by contrast. In the northern district of New York, according to the *Jefferson Inquirer* of October 27, 1842, 53,006 persons had applied for the benefit of the national bankruptcy law, while the *Columbus Republican* stated that upwards of 6200 notices to creditors were mailed out of Columbus in a single day. (*Columbia Patriot*, August 12, 1842.)

Various remedial measures to meet the situation were offered. These varied from Ex-Governor Bogg's plan for the issuing of \$5,000,000 in notes on the credit of the State by the Bank of the State of Missouri<sup>66</sup> to a return to the exclusive use of specie. Bogg's plan the *Jefferson Inquirer*—doubtless with recollections of the Loan Office—branded as a "shinplaster measure," "visionary" and the "wildest thing of the kind ever offered for the adoption of a paper accursed people."<sup>67</sup> The *Inquirer* rallied instead to the cause of sound currency to be obtained through the outlawing of the banking insurance companies and the note issues of city corporations. By 1843, this sentiment, which had never wearied in its attacks upon the financial policies of St. Louis and which had missed passing a law to check the banking corporations in 1841 by but one vote in the Senate, was reinforced by the national popular sentiment demanding a return to specie payment.<sup>68</sup> The result was the law of February 28, 1843, by which the Democratic forces of the State, championed by Benton, brought a successful termination to illegal banking activities in Missouri.<sup>69</sup>

The law of February 28, 1843, was entitled "An act to prevent illegal Banking and to suppress the circulation of small bank notes and other depreciated currency within the

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<sup>66</sup>See the *Columbia Patriot*, November 4, 1842, for Bogg's full statement of his plan. Also the *Jefferson Inquirer*, March 9, 1843, for a discussion of relief proposals.

<sup>67</sup>*Jefferson Inquirer*, October 27, 1842.

<sup>68</sup>Popular reaction to the unstable financial condition of the country had followed upon the failure of the Whig victory in 1840 to bring relief. The *Macon Specific*, so called from the resolution in 1842 of the merchants of Macon Georgia, to take notes of specie paying banks at par and all others at a heavy discount, spread rapidly throughout the country. The farmers of Wisconsin pledged themselves not to take depreciated notes for their grain and the farmers of Michigan followed their example. Missouri newspapers urged Missouri farmers to take nothing but specie. At Cincinnati, citizens demanding specie made attacks on the Cincinnati Bank, the Exchange Bank, the Marine Exporting Company and others. In several instances, safes were rifled and counters, desks and other furniture thrown into the street. By 1843 popular indignation had led to legislative action. Banks in Ohio, Louisiana, Michigan and other states were forced to resume specie payment or forfeit their charters, until specie payment by the banks was finally restored. (See McMasters, J. B., *A History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VII, pp. 6ff.)

<sup>69</sup>*Laws of Missouri*, 1842-43, p. 20. For an account of the events leading to the passing of the law see McClure, C. H., *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*, pp. 18-21.



limits of the State."<sup>60</sup> By the provisions of this act, all corporate bodies, bodies politic, brokers and exchange dealers were prohibited from dealing in the paper of suspended banks after July 1, 1843, and, after the first of January, 1844, from dealing in any bank notes of a denomination of less than ten dollars. No corporation, corporate body or body politic other than the Bank of the State of Missouri and its branches, was to engage in banking. The penalty for violation was, in the case of corporations, corporate bodies or bodies politic, the forfeiture of the charter, and, in the case of money brokers and exchange dealers, forfeiture of license and a fine of not less than \$1,000. The same session of the legislature which thus outlawed the banking activities of the insurance companies, brokers and city corporations, also passed an act abolishing imprisonment for debt and another adding to the list of exemptions in cases of executions upon property.<sup>61</sup>

Fortunately, though the years of 1842 and 1843 saw the worst phases of the panic in Missouri, the forces of progress do not appear to have been totally checked. St. Louis, the center of the financial upheaval in Missouri during the worst years of the panic, made a remarkable recovery, and, by 1845, had definitely entered upon an era of unprecedented prosperity and progress.<sup>62</sup> As an example, the steamboat traffic may be cited. Already the point of exchange for commerce above and below the Mississippi as a result of her strategic position, the phenomenal increase of population experienced by the West between 1840 and 1850 made St. Louis the center of an enormous trade area.<sup>63</sup> Between 1840

<sup>60</sup>*Laws of Missouri*, 1842-43, pp. 20-21.

<sup>61</sup>*Laws of Missouri*, 1842-43, pp. 65, 71. It is to be noted that Missouri, in contrast to its policy in the panic of 1819, sought in the main, sound economic remedies for her financial ills rather than sugar-coated panaceas. Her unfortunate experience with the Loan Office, following the panic of 1819, no doubt, was responsible for the scant consideration given such unsound plans as that of Boggs.

<sup>62</sup>For an account of the progress of St. Louis after 1840 see Williams, Helen D., *Factors in the Growth of St. Louis From 1840 to 1860*. (Typewritten Master's thesis in the Library of St. Louis University, 1934.)

<sup>63</sup>"During the early forties, trade from this wide extent of back-country sought the port of St. Louis without the people of St. Louis spending great effort to obtain it. The excellent avenues of transportation afforded St. Louis by its strategic location and the rapid increase in the population of the West forced upon this city a commerce and growth unparalleled in the history of



and 1848 the value of her commerce increased from \$50,000,000 to \$75,000,000, the latter figure being equivalent to approximately one-third of the total foreign commerce of the United States in 1848. Steamboat arrivals from 1840 to 1844—which included the worst years of the panic—virtually doubled. In 1842, the number of steamboats engaged in traffic on the Mississippi and its tributaries had numbered 450, with a tonnage of 90,000; in 1843 they numbered 672 with a total tonnage of 134,000. By 1845 St. Louis had \$4,740,000 invested in steamboats and had launched upon the business of building her own boats. By 1846, practically one-third of the entire population of St. Louis was interested in the river trade.

Progress was also made in other fields. Manufacturing and the dry goods business, though in their infancy, were establishing roots of permanency. In 1841, ten houses with a capital of over one-half million dollars carried on a wholesale dry goods business which amounted to \$1,250,000, while the St. Louis business directory for 1842 lists among St. Louis manufacturing concerns four manufactories of bagging and bale rope, 58 manufactories of boots and shoes, 23 carriage and wagon makers, 15 tobacco and cigar factories, 3 manufactories of lead pipe, 9 saw mills, 3 planing mills, 6 breweries, and 20 cabinet and chair makers—nearly all representing recently established industries. Flour mills, in particular, engaged in a lively business. In 1843, 9,000 barrels of flour were sent south, whereas in the year preceding, St. Louis had had to import flour from Ohio. By 1848 flour ranked as one of the foremost agricultural exports. Similarly, the wholesale grocery business, the hardware business, and the trade in pork, wheat, corn, lead, beef, hemp and tobacco was of no small importance to the prosperity of St. Louis.

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modern cities. [For example, between 1840 and 1850, 130,000 immigrants settled in Ohio Territory; between 1840 and 1847, Wisconsin increased her population at the rate of 26,000 a year, while Arkansas, between 1840 and 1850 increased hers by 110 %]. "In these years the citizens of St. Louis spent their time and energy in erecting buildings and accommodations to take care of this trade. . . . They constantly referred to this 'rapidly increasing commerce which was destined to increase forever'." (Williams, Helen D., *Factors in the Growth of St. Louis from 1840 to 1860*, p. 42.)

Building is another item of interest in St. Louis' recovery. In 1843, three blocks of buildings were erected on Fourth street, sixty of which were stores, and in 1844, 1,146 houses were erected. In the latter year, the demand for homes could not be met and in 1845, 2,000 houses were put up. Eloquent evidence of the revival of St. Louis is indicated by the fact that, between 1840 and 1845 her population alone increased from 16,469 to an estimated 45,000 and, in 1848, to an estimated 62,000. The assessed valuation of her property, on the other hand, between 1840 and 1845 increased from \$8,573,662 to \$43,519,591. By 1842 the mayor of St. Louis was optimistically referring to St. Louis as the "New York of the West" and the probable future seat of the national government.

Turning to the State more generally, while no economic analysis can be made of the State as a whole, much the same revival seems to have been manifested as in St. Louis. The returns from the Santa Fe trade in 1843 alone were estimated by Gregg at \$450,000.<sup>64</sup> Again, the Jefferson City and Columbia newspapers indicate a rise in prices and a resumption of building. In 1843 a fourth branch of the Bank of the State of Missouri was established in Springfield and in 1845, a fifth was opened at Lexington, by which time the mother bank in St. Louis had gained a national reputation as "the Gibraltar of the West." From this time until the panic of 1857 the bank dominated the financial affairs of the State and managed its business with a skill and safety rarely equaled in the history of early American banking.<sup>65</sup> From 1840 to 1850 the population of the State increased from 383,702 to 682,044.

Among agricultural products, the growth of hemp and tobacco increased by leaps and bounds and as early as 1843 it was predicted that these crops would become the staple articles of export. In 1842, 1,750 hogsheads of tobacco were inspected at the St. Louis warehouse and in 1843, 6,847 hogsheads were inspected. Eleven tobacco stemeries and

<sup>64</sup>Shoomaker, F. C., and Williams, Walter, *Missouri, Mother of the West* (Chicago, 1930), Vol. I, p. 595.

<sup>65</sup>Cable, J. R., *The Bank of the State of Missouri*, p. 188.

factories at Glasgow were declared by 1842 to furnish "a vast amount" of freight.<sup>66</sup> So excellent was the quality of Missouri tobacco that manufacturers of Ohio and Kentucky sought their supplies from Missouri growers.<sup>67</sup> The cultivation of hemp, which had received an impetus from the tariff of 1842, amounted in 1843 to 37,532 bales and to 62,732 bales in 1845. By 1848 Missouri hemp was declared superior to that of Kentucky.<sup>68</sup>

Steamboat traffic also increased on the Missouri. Whereas only five boats were engaged in the Missouri river trade in 1836, according to the *Columbia Patriot* of March 19, 1842, by 1841 twenty-six steamboats had made 312 arrivals and departures at Glasgow. "The Missouri river from having been for a long time considered hardly manageable for keels," comments the paper, "is now run upon day and night by some of the most splendid—yes, splendid—steamboats upon the Western waters. . . ."

Summarizing conditions in Missouri, a traveler in a letter dated March 22, 1844, to the *Jefferson City Inquirer* writes as follows:

" . . . Missouri like her sister states has suffered severely from the collapse of the banking system, but business is reviving slowly from the natural operation of her intensest recuperative energies . . . the people are getting out of debt; immigration, attracted by her cheap and fertile lands, is rolling in like a flood; labor and enterprise are well rewarded; the necessities of life are abundant and cheap . . . If there is a place on earth which deserves to be called the poor man's heaven, it is the democratic state of Missouri. . . ."

Slowly, but steadily, by 1845 Missouri appears to have recovered from the panic of 1837 and to have been well on the road of recovery.

<sup>66</sup>*Columbia Patriot*, March 19, 1842.

<sup>67</sup>Williams, Helen D., *Factors in the Growth of St. Louis from 1850 to 1860*, p. 77.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 76.

## MISSOURIANA

**The Fertility of Missouri's Pioneer Soil**  
**Stoddard and Miller at Fort Meigs**  
**The Missouri Press in New Mexico**  
**The Hazards of a Missouri Horse Railroad**  
**Do You Know, Or Don't You?**  
**Topics in Missouri History**  
**Advertisements in the Pioneer Press**

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### THE FERTILITY OF MISSOURI'S PIONEER SOIL

As one reads old newspapers, early emigrant guides, and county histories, one is frequently surprised by the evidences of the fertility of Missouri's pioneer soil. Figures may be found in these old sources citing the actual measurements of vegetables, fruits, grasses, and trees. The following examples are the more interesting in consideration of the fact that they date from a day when modern fertilizers, improved seeds, and scientific methods of agriculture were unknown.

Gottfried Duden, in his famous *Report of 1824-27*, which initiated the flow of German emigrants to Missouri during the thirties, states that the soil of Missouri was so fertile that the maize crops required but a single breaking of the ground. Beans, he says, were planted in the cornfields for the support of the stalks which grew ten, fifteen and even twenty feet high. There, also, pumpkins, lettuce and other garden vegetables were planted.

All these things [he writes] thrive simultaneously without the least fertilizer, and indeed, after twenty years, just as well as during the first year. I affirm that this is no exaggeration, and that I have convinced myself of the truth of this assertion many times. One of my neighbors, a Mr. William Hancock, owns a plantation on the bank of the Missouri which was laid out more than twenty years ago. This land has year after year produced the most abundant harvest which no fertilizer was able to increase. The only notable change is that wheat can now be grown successfully upon this land which formerly always fell to the ground because of the richness of the soil....

An almost incredible story of an amazing cabbage is found in Peck's *Guide for Emigrants*, published in Boston in 1831. On page 145 Peck writes:

A gentleman of veracity, who belonged to the army, stated to the writer that in 1815 at Fort Osage, near the western border of Missouri, he measured a cabbage in his garden, without extending the leaves, that was seventeen feet six inches in circumference around the head.

In support of his contention he says that in the neighboring state of Illinois cabbages three feet in diameter or nine feet in circumference are "no novelty in this soil." "Our New England friends," he adds, "must not put down every statement about this country as romance because its vegetable productions so far exceed the scanty growth of the granite regions of the north." Still eager to defend the veracity of his statements, Peck tells the story of the king of Siam who could not believe the statement of the Dutchman that water in his country was so hard that one could walk upon it.

Examples of remarkable vegetable products grown in this fertile soil were not only noted by pioneer newspaper editors but were objects as well of editorial pride and of a good natured rivalry which frequently drew comment from interested fellow editors. An illustration is the following from the editorial pen of the *Columbia Missouri Statesman* for February 14, 1845:

LONG GOURDS.—Gen'l Green of the *Fayette Times*, boasts loudly in his last paper of a very long gourd (only two feet long!) sent him a few days previous by a female friend. Now if *Green* thinks that people are *green* enough to believe his *long* gourd he must think them *green as gourds*, for a day or two since a friend of ours (Mr. Clifton Hensley) of this place presented us with a gourd which measured *three* feet three inches in length! . . . . So Green must acknowledge without delay that his is no gourd at all.

Three weeks later, the editor of the *Boonville Observer*, who had evidently followed with interest the editorial contest of the *Columbia* and *Fayette* papers in respect to gourds, made the following announcement which was reprinted in the *Statesman* of March 7:

The controversy is at an end, but the excitement still rages with undiminished fury—for great has been and is the excitement about gourds!

The quality of a man's land hereabouts, is now judged by the length of the gourds grown upon it; and so far the soil of Old Boone is far superior to the soil of Howard, Cooper or any other county.... Hurra for Old Boone—famous alike for true Whigs and gourds!

Though one may believe that even larger gourds were grown than those which were the objects of the above editorial defense, the correspondence is nevertheless interesting both for its content and as an illustration of an amusing editorial practice of the times.

That friendly rivalry in agricultural products extended beyond the limits of the State and offered the challenge of comparison to other states, is indicated by the announcement of the *St. Louis Gazette* for October 31, 1821, that "a carrot weighing five pounds and thirteen ounces was raised from the seed that year in the garden of Mackie Wheery." "Outdo this Illinois, if you can," is the concluding challenge of the notice.

Rivalling the cabbage mentioned by Duden is the following mammoth cumcumber, notice of which appeared in the *Boons Lick Times* for August 15, 1846:

We were shown in the garden of Capt. Cleveland, a few days since, a mammoth cucumber. Its dimensions are as follows: four feet, three and a half inches in length and fifteen inches in circumference, in the thickest part and is still growing. We should not be surprised if it were to grow several feet longer before the close of the season, for when a cucumber gets such a start as that, there is no telling where it will stop.

Other examples of phenomenal specimens, mentioned by the *Columbia Patriot*, the *Jefferson City Jeffersonian Republican*, the *Fulton Telegraph*, and the *Columbia Missouri Statesman* between the years 1839 and 1859, are the following: a corn stalk eighteen feet high; a sweet potato four feet and one inch long and six and a half inches in circumference; two turnips each twenty-two inches in circumference; one "Shocking radish," grown by "Mr. Shock," nineteen inches in length and twenty-two inches in circumference; a beet weighing thirteen and one-fourth pounds; timothy heads eleven and one-half inches in length; apples weighing four pounds and six and one-half ounces; a blade of blue grass three and one-half feet long; and, finally, a pumpkin vine measuring 1,178 feet and bearing thirty "thrifty" pumpkins.

That trees, too, were notably large is shown by the measurements of pioneer Missouri monarchs mentioned in a reprint from the St. Louis *Lumberman* of March 15, 1912. This publication gives the measurements of a cypress and a sweet gum, both in Cape Girardeau county, which were each 130 feet high, a sycamore in Mississippi county fifteen feet in diameter and a cottonwood ten feet in diameter. The famous Hunter's Oak, also in Mississippi county, is recorded as having measured twenty-seven feet and one inch in circumference eighteen inches above the ground and with a rise of probably sixty feet to the first branch.

Large trees are also mentioned in William F. Switzler's *Illustrated History of Missouri*, (p. 535). The following trees, according to the history, were measured in 1857:

Sycamore.....	43 feet in circumference.....	65 feet high.
Catalpa.....	10 " " ".....	90 feet high.
Cypress.....	29 " " ".....	130 feet high.
Cottonwood.....	30 " " ".....	125 feet high.
Black Walnut.....	22 " " ".....	110 " "
Spanish Oak.....	36 " " ".....	90 " "

The history also cites other interesting evidences of soil fertility. In the prairie district of the Boonslick country it tells of herds of buffalo, elk and deer being entirely concealed from the hunter by the tall prairie grasses. Grasses, before the savannas were planted, varied in height from five to ten feet. Another interesting citation is that of a grape vine thirty-three inches in circumference and 160 feet long. Grape vines, trumpet and Virginia creepers, poison oak, wisteria and staff tree, grew "to the highest trees" and mingled their "scarlet and purple flowers and fruit with the highest foliage."

These and other examples are ample proof of the fertility of Missouri soil in a day when Missourians "put their seed into the ground and trusted Providence to give the increase."

#### STODDARD AND MILLER AT FORT MEIGS

Among the prominent figures of Missouri history whose careers touched in the War of 1812 are Amos Stoddard, first American civil commandant of Upper Louisiana, and



John Miller, fourth governor of the State of Missouri. At a time when Missouri's prominent men frequently came from regions as far apart as Connecticut and Virginia, as did these two, and when it was possible for the periods of service of contemporaries to differ to the extent of preventing their simultaneous presence within the State to which they rendered distinguished service, as was the case with Stoddard and Miller, the fact that both of these men were at the siege of Fort Meigs, in Ohio, that both rendered distinguished service, and that one of them gave his life there, is of particular interest to Missourians.

Stoddard, who was fifty-one years old at the time of the siege of Fort Meigs and nineteen years Miller's senior, had already made his name prominent in Missouri history. As the representative of the governments of France and of the United States he received upper Louisiana from Spain on the transfer of the territory at St. Louis on March 9 and 10, 1804. Afterwards, as the first acting governor of Louisiana, he did much to destroy the prejudices which existed as a consequence of the transfer, and, as a result of his judicious and enlightened administration, greatly eased the path for his successor.

Approximately twenty-five years of military activity lay behind Stoddard upon the outbreak of the War of 1812. These years, dating from his Revolutionary service, when he was recruited during his seventeenth year by Baron von Steuben, had included service in Upper and Lower Louisiana, and had raised him to the rank of major, but left him physically unfit for further strenuous military duty. The War of 1812, however, drafted him again into active service and finally ended his long career at Fort Meigs during the intense British siege of May 1 to 5, 1813. First stationed at Pittsburgh, as deputy quartermaster general, it was thought that Stoddard would not have to go nearer the actual front line of duty. It appears, however, that his experience as a skilled engineer and artilleryman were responsible for his transfer in the spring of 1813 to the command of Fort Meigs, where, largely through his exertions, the fortifications of the Fort were com-



pleted within a few weeks and shortly before the siege of May 1-5. Of these fortifications Stoddard's biographer says: "Besides presenting a difficult target to the British artillery across the river, this novel piece of military engineering, secretly constructed, did much to build the morale of the garrison."

Of the circumstances of Stoddard's death during the engagement with the British, little is known. Nor is it known that he personally knew Miller, though it would appear that he did, since Miller, as lieutenant-colonel in command of the 19th Infantry, must have had direct relations with Stoddard as commander of the Fort. During the engagement, Stoddard was given command, by General Harrison, of all the batteries. Beyond this, no particulars are known, except that he was wounded during the attack and that lockjaw set in shortly afterwards and resulted in his death on May 11. ". . . his loss was a real blow to the defensive forces." His body now lies buried at Fort Meigs in an unidentified grave. The facts concerning Miller are more illuminating than those concerning Stoddard, as far as the actual siege by the British is concerned, probably because Stoddard's work, on account of his impaired physical condition, looms greater in the preparations for the attack than in the foreground of the battle.

Miller, who was but thirty-one at the time of the siege, had his career before him. Prior to the war, he had been engaged in newspaper work in Ohio, at the same time holding the post of general in the state militia. It was through the latter service that he entered the United States army as a colonel on the outbreak of the War of 1812.

During the engagement at Fort Meigs, where he was stationed as commander of the 19th Infantry, Miller led a brilliant sortie against the British on the side of the Fort. This assault, planned to take place while a simultaneous attack was being launched by the major forces of the Fort against the enemy's batteries across the river, was one of the spectacular features of the siege. With approximately three hundred to three hundred and fifty men, Miller successfully captured a battery of enemy guns from a similar number of

British troops reinforced by five hundred Indians. Histories of the siege of Fort Meigs make much of Miller's attack, referring to the intrepidity of the undertaking and to the courage of Miller and his men.

Heroes of Fort Meigs, both Miller and Stoddard have counties in Missouri named for them.

#### THE MISSOURI PRESS IN NEW MEXICO

That New Mexico's first American military commander, its first American governor, and its first American code of laws were contributed by Missouri are facts which are a part of the formally recorded history of both states. Another "first" also contributed by Missouri—one not so well-known, but which might be added to the more formal record—is New Mexico's first American newspaper.

This paper, the *Santa Fe Republican*, was edited by a Missourian, George Rutledge Gibson, member from Platte county of the famous Kearny-Doniphan expedition of 1846, in which Missourians played so prominent a part. The first issue of the paper appeared September 10, 1847. According to its prospectus, the paper was to provide the inhabitants of New Mexico with the latest and most authentic news from "the States", and with information concerning the movements of the army, the "stirring" events of the war, and the subjugation of the hostile Indian tribes. Particular attention was to be given to the introduction of American laws and institutions in Mexico, and to the improvement of the moral, social, and intellectual welfare of the people. Its motto: "We Die But Never Surrender," and the fact that it was published partly in Spanish and partly in English, and that no subscriptions were for "less than three months," reflect the events and circumstances of the American occupation. The story of the paper, as part of the story of the Kearny-Doniphan expedition, is told by Ralph P. Bieber in his excellently edited *Journal of a Soldier Under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-47*, by George Rutledge Gibson.

According to Dr. Bieber, several attempts were made to publish a newspaper in Santa Fe prior to the appearance of the *Santa Fe Republican*. These earlier papers were published

in Spanish, however, and were short lived. The first of these, *El Crepúsculo de la Libertad*, was published weekly for about a month, by Antonio Barreido, member of the Mexican Congress. The press for this paper appears to have been brought across the plains from the United States in the early thirties. This press, after being used for several other short lived Spanish publications, was drafted by Kearny, upon his arrival in Santa Fe, for the official use of the American army, until it was replaced by a larger one ordered by him from St. Louis shortly before his departure for California. This new and larger press, which was shipped immediately from St. Louis via Fort Leavenworth with ink, paper and other printing supplies, was the one leased in the late summer of 1847 by two young Missouri printers, Oliver P. Hovey and Edward T. Davies, the former from Howard county and both members of the Missouri forces in New Mexico, for the publication of the Santa Fe *Republican*.

George Rutledge Gibson, who edited the paper for Hovey and Davies, had had previous experience as owner and editor of two Missouri newspapers. The first, the *Independence Journal*, was undertaken in 1844 immediately after his removal from Indiana to Missouri. Its strong Whig bias, however, forced it to cease publication shortly after the election of Polk. The second paper, the *Weston Journal*, was established at Weston, in Platte county, where Gibson had moved from Independence after the failure of his first publication. This paper, which made its appearance on January 4, 1845, disavowed a "purely political" character and became one of the best papers published on the frontier. Unfortunately, financial difficulties necessitated its abandonment and Gibson's return to his former profession of law in which he engaged until his enlistment in the Kearny-Doniphan expedition and his departure for New Mexico.

To the publication of the Santa Fe *Republican* Gibson appears to have brought the advantages of his former experiences. The sheet of four pages, was eleven by fifteen and three-quarters inches, of neat appearance, clear type, and varied content. News of a partisan, slanderous, or purely personal nature was not printed, while attention was given,

in as broad a sense as possible, to the general news of the day. Those copies of the *Santa Fe Republican*, edited by Gibson, in the possession of the State Historical Society of Missouri compare favorably with contemporary newspapers published in Missouri. It is interesting to note that Gibson's private journal ceased after the beginning of the publication of the paper, since, as he explains, he considered the newspaper to have taken its place.

Gibson edited the *Republican* until the latter part of December, 1847, when, preparatory to his departure for Missouri, he severed his connection with the paper, and left Santa Fe for Weston on April 28, 1848. After his resignation, the owners, Hovey and Davies, expressed the hope that the paper would continue to display the same tact and ability which had characterized it during Gibson's editorship. The *Republican* did not long survive, however, for it ceased publication within a year or two after the departure of Gibson.

#### THE HAZARDS OF A MISSOURI HORSE RAILROAD

Between the pages of a copy of Switzler's *History of Missouri* (1879), donated to the State Historical Society of Missouri by a grandson of Colonel Switzler, was found an old clipping from the *Richmond Conservator* containing the following account of Missouri's "first" railroad:

Away back in the early forties the first<sup>1</sup> railroad was built in upper Missouri. It extended from the brick mill, four miles south of Richmond, to the Lexington ferry, on the north bank of the Missouri river. It was constructed, owned and operated by Allen and Reeves. It was graded and had wooden rails and the cars were drawn by mules. When first completed an excursion was given and all the neighbors for several miles distant were invited to take a ride over it to the river and return. The cars used were flat and chairs were placed on them for the convenience of the excursionists. On the first trip an accident occurred in which a negro girl had her leg broken and badly crushed while sitting on the side of the car with her feet hanging over and being caught between the moving train and a large stump on the side of the railroad track. At the time of the

<sup>1</sup>There is some question regarding the first horse railroad in Missouri. For discussions of the question see: *Review*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (April, 1923), pp. 398-399; Vol. 23, No. 2 (January, 1929), pp. 326-327; Vol. 26, No. 1 (October, 1931), pp. 12-18. The above clipping is interesting for its contribution to the subject.

accident the girl was nursing a little child of one of the excursionists. Sheriff H. C. Perdue was on the train at the time of the accident and says he remembers the occurrence very well. Judge Thomas McGinnis was one of the conductors employed to run over the road and manage it for quite a while.

DO YOU KNOW, OR DON'T YOU?

That many of the important records of early Missouri history—the bonds, acts of the legislature, and other important State archives—were suddenly swept away by fire when the State capitol at Jefferson City burned on November 17, 1837?

That a magnificent botanical garden, known as "Hardeman's Garden," once adorned the banks of the Missouri river in Howard county on what was then the extreme western frontier of the United States? The famous garden, of approximately ten acres, was laid out in 1819 or 1820 and was designed by its owner, John Hardeman, to be the most splendid west of the Alleghenies.

That Franklin, Missouri, now usually referred to as "Old Franklin," was once the most important and flourishing town west of St. Louis and was the center of the wealth, fashion, and culture of central Missouri?

That the capital of Missouri was first at St. Louis, where it remained through territorial days and early statehood until 1821, when it was temporarily removed to St. Charles, and then, in 1826 was permanently established at Jefferson City? That the present capitol is the eleventh building used for this purpose since Missouri became a state?

That Missouri, once known as the "Mule State" and famous the world over for its mules, now ranks seventh as a mule producing state.

That, though the University of Missouri dates from 1839, no building used for instructional purposes was built on the University campus out of money appropriated by the

legislature of Missouri until 1883, when an appropriation of \$100,000 was made to build the "wings" of the old University main building?

That the State flag of Missouri was designed by a woman, Mrs. Robert Burett Oliver? The "Oliver flag bill" providing for the adoption of the flag as designed by Mrs. Oliver was approved by Governor Major on March 22, 1913.

That William Henry Hatch, citizen of Hannibal, is known as the "father of Agricultural experiment stations"? The Federal Hatch Act of 1887, which bears his name, founded the present system of agricultural experiment stations in the United States, the first federal system of agricultural experiment stations in the world.

That the great statesman, Henry Clay, once owned an estate in Missouri known as "Old Orchard" located on the old Bellefontaine road near St. Louis? He occupied it but one summer after which the estate was sold to the Calvary Cemetery Association. The place is now used as an outing farm for orphan children.

That the world famous phrase "Lafayette, we are here," commonly attributed to General John J. Pershing, distinguished Missourian, was attributed by him to Colonel C. E. Stanton of San Francisco, California? This fact is revealed in Pershing's *My Experiences in the World War*, Chapter VII, page 93. On the occasion of the speech, delivered July 4, 1917, at Lafayette's tomb, Pershing had been asked to deliver an address. Instead, he designated Colonel Stanton, a member of his staff and an old army friend who was somewhat, of an orator, to speak for him. Pershing, in relating the fact, generously states that it is to Stanton, and not to himself that honor for the famous phrase is due.

That, in the days before St. Louis had a post office, the mail was left on the window sill of the house of Dr. Antoine Saugrain, eminent pioneer St. Louis physician? St. Louis' first official postmaster was Rufus Easton, appointed by Thomas Jefferson in 1805. In addition to his duty of taking care of the mail, Easton is thought to have been charged with the duty of watching Aaron Burr and General Wilkinson. He later became a territorial judge.

That the New Madrid earthquake of 1811-12 was so violent, that, according to eye witnesses, it reversed the current of the Mississippi river? So severe was Missouri's famous earthquake that it has been said that had the New Madrid district been similarly built up, it would have caused ever greater damage than the great San Francisco earthquake.

#### TOPICS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

Few subjects in Missouri history have a greater interest than that of the Mormons. This widespread interest is largely due, no doubt, to the popular association with Brigham Young. Yet Joseph Smith, and not Young, monogamy and not polygamy, form the basic historic background of the Mormons in Missouri. This popular conception, linked with the Mormon war of 1838-39, and with the religious strife which accompanied it, have tended to give the story of the Mormons the stamp of a peculiar bitterness for Missourians. At the same time, Smith's revelation of Missouri as the "New Jerusalem" and his designation of Independence as the new "Zion" have also given it a peculiar fascination. Because of the elements which have entered into its making—religious fervor, sectarian fanaticism, blind intolerance, ruthless terrorism and organized warfare—there is no wholly unbiased and complete account of this strange chapter in Missouri history. For this reason an attempt has been made in the present bibliography to include as much source material as possible and to represent, in secondary accounts, both points of view. The inclusion of books of a wholly controversial, religious nature has been avoided in order to present, as far as possible, the purely historical aspects of the subject.



## THE MORMONS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

- Boggs, W. M., "A Short Biographical Sketch of Lilburn W. Boggs," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (January, 1910), pp. 106-110. A defense of Governor Boggs, chief executive of Missouri at the time of the Mormon troubles, written by his son.
- The Book of Mormon; an Account Written by the Hand of Mormon Upon Plates Taken from the Plates of Nephi*. . . . Translated by Joseph Smith jun. (Salt Lake City, 1921). This, with the *Doctrine and Covenants* which includes the "revelations," contains an account of the original purpose of the migration to Missouri and the instructions of Smith to his followers on their removal from Ohio.
- Britton, Rollin J., "Adam-ondi-ahman, a Missouri Contribution to the World Famed Spots of Earth," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (January, 1926), pp. 236-246.
- Britton, Rollin J., "Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (January, 1919), pp. 112-134; No. 3 (April, 1919), pp. 287-310; No. 4 (July, 1919), pp. 388-398; Vol. XIV, No. 1 (October, 1919), pp. 89-110; Nos. 3-4 (April-July, 1920), pp. 459-473.
- Britton, Rollin J., "Mormon Land Titles. A Story of Jackson County Real Estate," in *Annals of Kansas City Missouri*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 145-153.
- Burnett, Peter H., *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* (New York, 1880), pp. 52-68. Burnett, a former Missourian, became the first governor of California.
- Cake, Lu B., *Peepstone Joe and the Peck Manuscript* ("1899), pp. 79-138. Biased, but valuable as a contemporary account.
- Caswell, Henry, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century Or, the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Mormons*. . . . (London, 1843), pp. 141-187.
- Clark, John Alonzo, *Gleanings By the Way* (New York, 1842), pp. 323-330. A non-Mormon account by the rector of St. Andrews Church, Philadelphia.
- Deatherage, Charles P., *Early History of Greater Kansas City Missouri and Kansas* (Kansas City, 1927), pp. 271-292.
- Etzenhouser, R., *From Palmyra, New York, 1830, to Independence, Missouri, 1894* (Independence, 1894), pp. 322-333. Etzenhouser was an elder of the Mormon Church.
- The Evening and Morning Star*. Mormon newspaper published at Independence from June, 1832-July, 1833. [Reprint.]
- Farrell, R. W., "Joseph Smith's Prophecy and Order Number 11," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (January, 1926), pp. 335-337.
- Ferris, B. G., *Utah and the Mormons, the History, Government, Doctrines, Customs and Prospects of the Latter-Day Saints* (New York, 1854), pp. 69-96.
- Gibbs, Josiah Francis, *Lights and Shadows of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, "1909), pp. 65-89.



- Greene, J. P., *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons From the State of Missouri, Under the "Exterminating Order"* (Cincinnati, 1839). Contains important source material.
- Gregg, Thomas, *The Prophet of Palmyra. Mormonism Reviewed and Examined in the Life, Character, and Career of its Founder, From "Cum-orah Hill" to Carthage Jail and the Desert...* (New York, 1890), pp. 138-148.
- Gunnison, John W., *The Mormons, Or Latter Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake...* (Philadelphia, 1853), pp. 104-114.
- The History of Daviess County, Missouri* (Kansas City, 1882), pp. 184-206.
- A History of Jackson County, Missouri...* (Kansas City, 1881), pp. 250-270.
- Hunt, J. H., *A History of the Mormon War...* (St. Louis, 1844), pp. 127-274. Contains important documentary material.
- Journal of History*, Vols. I-XVIII. Published by the Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Lamoni, Iowa, 1908-25). Contains many articles on the Mormon troubles in Missouri written from the Mormon viewpoint.
- La Rue, William E., *The Foundation of Mormonism, A Study of the Fundamental Facts in the History and Doctrines of the Mormons from Original Sources* (New York, 1919), pp. 20-36.
- Lee, John Doyle, *Mormonism Unveiled; Including the Remarkable Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee...* (St. Louis), pp. 36-96. Lee is notorious for his part in the Mountain Meadows massacre perpetrated by the Mormons in 1857. For his part in the affair he was brought to trial and executed in 1887. His *Confessions*, written after he had received the death sentence, are marked by extreme bitterness toward his former Mormon friends.
- Linn, William Alexander, *The Story of the Mormons...* (New York, 1902), pp. 161-219. Based upon the sources. The most complete account of the Mormons from the non-Mormon point of view.
- Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (January, 1928), pp. 266-268; Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (October, 1929), pp. 150-151.
- Missouri, State Department, *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c., in Relation to the Disturbances With the Mormons and the Evidence Given Before the Honorable Austin A. King, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of the State of Missouri... in a Criminal Court of Inquiry...* On the Trial of Joseph Smith, Jr., and Others... Published by Order of the General Assembly (Fayette, Mo., 1841).
- Quaife, Milo Milton, *The Kingdom of Saint James; a Narrative of the Mormons* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 249-255.
- Roberts, B. H., *The Missouri Persecutions* (Salt Lake City, 1900). Roberts was an elder of the Mormon Church. His account represents the Mormon viewpoint.
- Shoemaker, F. C., and Leopard, Buel, *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* (Columbia, 1922), Vol. I, pp. 387-388, 407-410.

- Shoemaker, F. C., and Williams, Walter, *Missouri, Mother of the West*, 5 Vols. (Chicago, 1930), Vol. I, pp. 520-547.
- Smith, H. C., "Mormon Troubles in Missouri," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (July, 1910), pp. 238-251. A reply to the article by Boggs.
- Thorp, Joseph, *Early Days in the West; Along the Missouri One Hundred Years Ago* (Liberty, 1924), pp. 73-91. Reminiscences of Joseph Thorp, Missouri pioneer.
- Turner, J. B., *Mormonism in All the Ages, Or the Rise, Progress, and Causes of Mormonism*. . . (New York, 1842), pp. 34-64.
- United States Circuit Court (8th Circuit), *The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Complainant vs. The Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri, Respondents. Complaints Abstract of Pleading and Evidence*. . . (Lamoni, Iowa, 1893).
- United States Circuit Court (8th Circuit), *Decision of John F. Philips, Judge in Temple Lot Case. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, versus the Church of Christ et al.* (Lamoni, Iowa, 1912).
- Whiteman, Susan H., "Mormon Troubles in Carroll County," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (July, 1914), pp. 220-222.
- Wyl, W., *Joseph Smith, the Prophet, His Family and His Friends. A Study Based On Facts and Documents* (Salt Lake City, 1886), pp. 30-36, 153-165, 254-255.

#### ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE PIONEER PRESS

#### TO

#### ENTERPRISING YOUNG MEN<sup>1</sup>

The subscriber wishes to engage ONE HUNDRED MEN, to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two, or three years—For particulars, enquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the Lead Mines, in the County of Washington, (who will ascend with, and command the party) or to the subscriber at St. Louis.

WM. H. ASHLEY.

February 13

From the *Missouri Republican*, March 20, 1822.

<sup>1</sup>This advertisement is one of the relatively few pioneer advertisements which made Missouri history, for to it may be definitely traced the origin of General Ashley's famous Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Among the "enterprising young men" who signed up with Ashley and who subsequently made names for themselves as "Rocky Mountain Men" are Jedediah Smith, Robert Campbell, Thomas Fitzpatrick, James Bridger and the Sublettes.

## BERNARD MILLER

## SKIN DRESSER &amp; BREECHES MAKER,

Main street, next door to the St. Louis Bank.

Respectfully informs the public that he has now on hand a large quantity of

## OIL DRESSED DEER SKINS,

Suitable for Pantaloon, Drawers &c.&c. Ladies and gentlemens gloves made to order or pattern: Pantaloon lined and every other job within his line of business thankfully received and punctually executed.

Nov. 5th, 1818.

From the *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, November 6, 1818.

TOWN OF OSAGE<sup>2</sup>

The undersigned have laid off a TOWN, on a large and liberal plan, at the confluence of the Osage & Missouri rivers, and bestowed upon it the name of the former. It lies in the immediate fork of the two rivers, (the junction of which is nearly at right angles) & will have a front street on the margin of each a mile in length—the whole plan is liberal; the streets wide; and large squares left in different places for buildings of public use and convenience.

The geographical position of this town presents striking advantages. . . the site of the town is. . . near the center of the proposed state on the line east and west. On the line north and south its position is almost equally central. . . Reference to a map will show its position as stated, and demonstrate the fairness of its cha[n]ce to become as well, a place of commerce, as the seat of government for the future state of Missouri.

It will certainly share the commerce of two great rivers; that of the Missouri, which drains a world; and that of the Osage, which is navigable six hundred miles; and draws a part of its water from points further south. . .

The Osage river will furnish the cotton planting country of the Missouri state, and will be more favorable to the growth of that article than places in the same latitude on the east side of the Mississippi. . . Upon the Osage is rare and valuable timber for building, as cedar and pine, besides the wood common to the Missouri; also vast prairies, or natural meadows, for the grazing of cattle; and. . . rich and fertile land; part of which is now prepared for market. . .

<sup>2</sup>Osage is typical of the many towns "boomed" in Missouri prior to the panic of 1819. Others for which advertisements appear in the *Missouri Intelligencer* are America, Cote Sans Dessein, Chariton, Richmond, Columbus, and Smithton. The fact that the Constitution of 1820 provided for the location of the state capital on the banks of the Missouri river within forty miles of the mouth of the Osage caused the location and "booming" of many towns in the prescribed area. Osage was not the only town, therefore, to boast superior advantages on the ground that it might become the seat of government. The notable names included in the list of the proprietors of the town of Osage make it of particular interest.

The town of OSAGE will have one advantage, almost peculiar to itself, *the advantage of a harbor for the secure anchorage of steamboats, barges, and vessels engaged in its trade*— The Missouri river has but few places capable of harboring a vessel; and those which anchor in its rapid current are exposed to great danger from floating ice in the winter; the mouth of the Osage is deep, gentle, entirely sheltered from the Missouri ice, and comparatively free from any of its own ....

The healthiness of the situation requires no comment. Both the Missouri and the Osage are famed for the salubrity of their banks, and of the countries thro' which they flow.

A part of the LOTS in the above town will be offered for sale at AUCTION, in *St. Louis*, on the nineteenth day of June next; and at *Franklin*, Howard county, on the 13th day of July next.

*Terms of sale*—Six, twelve, eighteen & twenty-four months.

Angus Lewis Langham,  
William Rector,  
Alexander M'Nair,  
Samuel Hammond,  
Richard Gentry,  
Thomas Rector,  
Talbot Chambers,  
J. M'Gunnegle,  
Henry W. Conway,  
Samuel T. Beall,  
Stephen Glasscock,  
Thomas H. Benton,  
PROPRIETORS.

*St. Louis*, May 20, 1819.

From the *Missouri Intelligencer*, and *Boon's Lick Advertiser*, June 4, 1819.

#### TO BUILDERS

Proposals are invited for the erection of a family house on the University ground. Separate proposals may be made for the stone, brick, carpenters' work, plastering and painting, also proposals for the entire building. The plan and specifications of the building may be seen at the office of W. H. Duncan. The proposals will be opened on the 20th Inst. 10 o'clock.

W. H. DUNCAN,  
JNO. SLACK,  
R. S. THOMAS,

Building  
Committee.

From the *Columbia Patriot*, March 6, 1841.

## HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

123 NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY  
JUNE-NOVEMBER, 1935

During the six months from June to November, 1935, inclusive, 123 applications for membership were received by the Society.

The 123 new members are:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Almstedt, Hermann, Columbia            | Davis, Mrs. Will M., Monett                     |
| Anderson, Marie, Neosho                | Den, John D., Webster Groves                    |
| Barkley, Martha, Clayton               | Dickman, Mrs. Oscar W., St. Louis               |
| Barnett, Mrs. Lynde C., Columbia       | Dodson, Mrs. Nellie J., Phillipsburg            |
| Barns, D. Dennis, St. Louis            | Dyott, John C., St. Louis                       |
| Bartholomew, Daniel, Joplin            | Easton, H. C., Jefferson City                   |
| Benedict, Walter, Columbia             | Eubank, L. A., Kirksville                       |
| Billings, James B., Kennett            | Farnham, C. W., Grandin                         |
| Bishop, C. S., Kansas City             | Fletcher, John, East Prairie                    |
| Blue Springs High School, Blue Springs | Ford, R. E., Illmo                              |
| Brennan, Gerald, Florissant            | Frankclay Public Schools, Frankclay             |
| Brown, Leo F., Pacific                 | Garrison, Joseph M., Columbia                   |
| Brown, Mildred, Boonville              | Garrison, Milton, Alma                          |
| Buford, Mrs. Carter M., Ellington      | Gentry, Howard N., Montgomery City              |
| Burg, Paul H., St. Louis               | Glasgow Public Library, Glasgow                 |
| Caldwell, Edward, New York City        | Gloeser, Mrs. Agnes Johann, Canton              |
| Caledonia High School, Caledonia       | Graves, W. W., St. Paul, Kansas                 |
| Calkins, Louise, St. Joseph            | Grimm, Elmer H., St. Louis                      |
| Carlisle, Wayde C., Humansville        | Hall, Alonzo C., Greensboro, N. C.              |
| Centerview Public Schools, Centerview  | Halstead, J. W., Texas City, Texas              |
| Chilton, J. C., Hannibal               | Hannibal Sr. High School, Hannibal              |
| Chilton, Sophia, Ellington             | Hendricks, Chas. A., Stockton                   |
| Clark, Merle L., Union Star            | Heuser, Rosena L., Rich Hill                    |
| Collier, William Dean, St. Louis       | Jarrett Junior High School Library, Springfield |
| Conley, S. F., Columbia                | Jonakin, R. E., Deering                         |
| Cook, Anna Laura, Crane                | Jones, S. J., Carrollton                        |
| Craig, C. A., Auxvasse                 | Junior College Library, Jefferson City          |
| Crenshaw, J. G., Lexington             | Knox, Wm. F., Jefferson City                    |
| Crockett, J. W., Grandin               | Lacy, W. Gibbons, Kansas City                   |
| Curry, N. C., Clarksburg               | Lancaster, Glenn, Webster Groves                |
| Dallamann, Wm. P., Kirkwood            |   |
| Davis, John E., Liberty                |   |

- LaPlata High School, LaPlata  
 Larabee, Mrs. Ross, Kansas City  
 Lexington High School, Lexington  
 Libby, Harry J., Shelbina  
 Liles, Charles, Dexter  
 Loeb, Virgil, St. Louis  
 Loomis, Mrs. W. H., Jr., Kansas City  
 Lord, C. G., Kansas City  
 Lucas, Mary, Independence  
 Luster, Lewis, Springfield  
 McCluer, V. C., Ferguson  
 McClure, Chas. F., Latour  
 McConn, Mrs. Charles A., Liberty  
 McKenzie High School, Afton  
 McMillan, Chas. A., Centralia  
 McMillan, Margaret, Columbia  
 Macey, Marion C., Richmond  
 Mann, J. L., Lexington  
 Maryville Public Schools, Maryville  
 Melies, Jno. C., Westphalia  
 Melton, E. J., Boonville  
 Miles, J. Tom, Farmington  
 Moore, Mrs. Lillian J., Kansas City  
 Moore, Vernon, Versailles  
 Mueller, John W., St. Louis  
 New Cambria High School, New Cambria  
 O'Connor, J. H., Lilbourn  
 Odessa Public Schools, Odessa  
 Oklahoma A. & M. College Library, Stillwater, Oklahoma  
 Otto, Robert W., St. Louis  
 Overstreet, Lee-Carl, Columbia  
 Phelps, Edith, Paseo Robles, Calif.  
 Poplar Bluff High School, Poplar Bluff  
 Rathbone, Walter G., Springfield  
 Rector, Fred, Jonesburg  
 Roberts, Munro, St. Louis  
 Rooney, James S., Liberty  
 Ross, Bane L., Versailles  
 Russell, Fred S., Kirksville  
 Scarborough, W. L., Richmond  
 Scharff, Edward E., St. Louis  
 Scott, Clive D., Louisiana  
 Seabaugh, E. M., Potosi  
 Shreve Memorial Library, Shreveport, Louisiana  
 Slevin, Nan E., St. Louis  
 Staley, Walter G., Mexico  
 Starkey, Mildred, Holden  
 Taul, Owen J., Lilbourn  
 Thompson, T. C., Baring  
 Traver, Mrs. Herman L., Kansas City  
 Turnbough, Mrs. C. A., Palmyra  
 Turner, O. H., St. Louis  
 Van Horn, Adela C., Kansas City  
 Waendelin, Svend, Aalborg, Denmark  
 Walker, Justin M., Utica  
 Westminster College Library, Fulton  
 Wikoff, L. B., Lexington  
 Willibrand, W. Anthony, Freeburg  
 Windsor High School, Windsor  
 Woodward, Florence, Golden City  
 Worley, C. E., Flat River

## HOWARD COUNTY NEWSPAPER FILE PHOTOSTATED

Through the courtesy of the Lewis Memorial Library at Glasgow, Missouri, the State Historical Society of Missouri has been permitted to photostat a file of the Fayette *Boon's Lick Times* of March 16, 1844, to September 30, 1848, and of its successor, the *Glasgow Times*, of October 5, 1848, to February 25, 1858. Special acknowledgment is made to Miss Hazel Price, a member of the library board, Mrs. N. W.

Peacocke, former librarian, and Mrs. Norris Swearingen, present librarian, for their assistance and courtesy.

This file supplements that of the Fayette *Boon's Lick Times* of March 28, 1840 to March 9, 1844, which was photostated during 1934, by permission of the Lewis Memorial Library. The Society now has a photostatic file of this paper covering a period of eighteen years. The local history of Howard county and the surrounding area, steamboat traffic on the Missouri river, and gold rush of 1849-52 are major subjects on which this valuable file provides new material for research workers.

#### MARION COUNTY PARENT TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS STUDY THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

In 1934, through the efforts of the Marion county superintendent of schools, Mr. E. C. Bohon, his corps of rural teachers, and local parent-teacher associations of the county, Marion county's rural schools were enrolled one hundred per cent in the State Historical Society of Missouri. *The Missouri Historical Review* was thus made available in every rural school library in the county.

That this county-wide, every school membership in the State Historical Society has given a decided impetus to the study of Missouri history and has stimulated an interest in the subject on the part of Marion county's students, teachers and parent-teacher groups, is amply shown by the following article, written by Mr. Clark Troutman, principal of the Palmyra grade school, and published in the Palmyra *Marion County Standard* of November 20, 1935:

A very interesting and unique program on Missouri history was given by Prairie View Parent-Teachers Association on Friday evening of last week. The program was based on information given in the current issue of the Missouri Historical Review.

.....The subject of the parent-teacher meeting program was brought up and the subject of history was recognized as the subject of the month. Various members of the group.....told of information and articles they had read in the Review. .... In the course of the program some eight or ten articles from the Review were discussed and the attention of the audience was held throughout. Some Missouri music was introduced as the program progressed. The concluding number was



a talk on the Missouri Memorial in the Argonne Forest. The speaker was Dr. Bartle, pastor of the Palmyra Presbyterian church, who was sent to France in 1925 by Governor Baker to dedicate this Memorial to Missouri dead in the Argonne. . . . . The Program was an excellent one. . . . .

#### OUTSTANDING DONATIONS

Twenty-nine volumes of Trenton newspapers have been deposited in the library of the State Historical Society by the W. B. Rogers Printing Company, Inc., publishers of *The Republican-Times* at Trenton. Included in this lot are the *Weekly Tribune* of 1900-1902, *The Evening Republican* of 1900-1902, and the *Daily Republican-Tribune* of 1904-1913. These files augment others previously deposited in this library by the same company.

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The original record book of the Independence Christian Church, covering the period from its organization on July 4, 1835, to 1845, has been presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri by Dr. Oliver Caldwell Sheley of Independence. Dr. Sheley is a descendant of the original church clerk, Oliver Caldwell, and has himself been a trustee of the church since 1893. This church celebrated its centennial in 1935, using many records in this rare book.

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A recent acquisition by the State Historical Society of Missouri is a volume of the Boonville *Monitor* beginning with the first issue February 13, 1864, and extending to August 6, 1864.

#### MISSOURIANS ABROAD—MALIN CRAIG

General Malin Craig, who was named chief of staff of the United States Army on October 2, 1935, was born in St. Joseph, Missouri, August 5, 1875. He entered West Point in 1894, and after being graduated participated in the Spanish-American war. He was then stationed at Fort Yellowstone, Wyoming, and Fort Reno, Oklahoma, until June, 1900. He then saw service in China and the Philippines, before returning to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and Fort Clark, Texas. He was promoted to captain of cavalry in

May, 1904. His services were varied until the World war, then in August, 1917, as lieutenant colonel, he was made chief of staff of the 41st Division, accompanying it to France. In January, 1918, he was promoted to chief of staff of the 1st corps. On the day of the Armistice he was made chief of staff of the Army of Occupation, serving until August 1, 1919. On returning to the United States he was director of the war college for a year. He next was stationed at Camp Jones, Arizona, and Fort Riley, Kansas, before going to the Philippines in 1923, where he was appointed major general, chief of cavalry, in July, 1924. Two years later he was made a major general of the line, and appointed assistant chief of staff in the war department. Several important commands followed from 1927 to 1930, when he assumed command of the 9th corps area at San Francisco.—Excerpts from an article by O. K. Armstrong, in the *Kansas City Times*, November 2, 1935.

#### MONUMENT TO WILLIAM JOEL STONE DEDICATED AT NEVADA

An impressive memorial to the late Governor and Senator William Joel Stone was dedicated with public ceremonies on the courthouse laws at Nevada, Missouri, October 11, 1935. This monument was erected by the State of Missouri, and a fund of \$15,000 was appropriated for this purpose by the Fifty-Seventh General Assembly in 1933.

Governor Stone is represented by a life size bronze statute on a granite base. On the latter are inscribed quotations from his speeches, a tribute to him, and the following: "Born in Madison county, Kentucky, May 7, 1848. Died at Washington, D. C., April 14, 1918. Congressman, 1885-1901. Governor, 1893-1896. United States Senator, 1903-1918." Frederick C. Hibbard, former Missourian, was the sculptor of this statue.

Senator Bennett C. Clark, chairman of the monument commission, made the address of presentation and Governor Guy B. Park made the speech of acceptance. Former Senator James A. Reed, who served in Congress with Senator Stone, delivered the dedicatory address.

**MARKER ERECTED NEAR SHANNON'S GRAVE IN MARION COUNTY**

The burial place of George ("Peg-Leg") Shannon, a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, in the Massey cemetery one mile north of Palmyra, is called to the attention of persons traveling on Highway 61 by a roadside marker erected by George A. Mahan of Hannibal, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The marker was dedicated on October 21, 1935. The inscription, compiled by the State Historical Society, reads:

George Shannon

About One Mile North Is Buried George Shannon, Missouri Lawyer, U. S. District Attorney, And At Sixteen A Member Of The Lewis and Clark Expedition. Injured In An Indian Battle In 1807, He Lost A Leg And Was Known As "Peg-Leg" Shannon. His Home Was At St. Charles. He Died At Palmyra, August 30, 1836.

The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1935.

Shannon's grave is one of four graves of members of the expedition known to be in Missouri.

The dedicatory program was witnessed by Marion county school children and citizens. Speeches were made by George A. Mahan, donor of the marker, E. C. Bohon, Marion county superintendent of schools, Miss Ruby Cooper, superintendent of Emerson Consolidated Schools, Thad R. Smith, circuit clerk of Marion county, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**MARKERS ERECTED TO COONTZ AND HATCH IN HANNIBAL**

Two historical markers, prepared by the State Historical Society of Missouri, were erected in Central Park in Hannibal by George A. Mahan, president of the Society, who donated them to the city. The markers are memorials to the late Robert Edward Coontz and the late William Henry Hatch. The inscriptions were compiled by the State Historical Society. The inscription on the Coontz marker reads:

## Robert Edward Coontz

Hannibal Was The Birthplace And Boyhood Home Of Admiral Robert E. Coontz Of The United States Navy. Commandant Of The Puget Sound Navy Yard And The Thirteenth Naval District, 1915-1918. Made An Admiral On October 24, 1919. Chief Of Naval Operations, 1919-1923. Commander In Chief Of United States Fleet, 1923-1925 And Commandant Of The Fifth Naval District, 1925-1928. Admiral Coontz Is Buried In Mount Olivet Cemetery.

The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1935.

The Inscription on the Hatch marker reads:

## William Henry Hatch

Hannibal Was The Home Of William H. Hatch, Lawyer, Congressman And Father Of Agricultural Experiment Stations. Hatch Sponsored The Law Creating The Office Of Secretary Of Agriculture. Adjoining Hannibal Is The Hatch Farm Bequeathed To The State By His Daughter And Now Operated As The Hatch Dairy Experiment Station.

The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1935.

## ERRATA

In the biographical sketch of James Marcus Johnson which appeared in *The Missouri Historical Review* of July, 1935, (Vol. 29, No. 4), page 336, it was erroneously stated that he had taught school in St. Joseph. According to a letter of August 31, 1935, from his son, Donald W. Johnson of Kansas City, this is an error, as Judge Johnson had never taught in St. Joseph.

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The date of the death of Elijah P. Lovejoy is 1837, instead of 1831, as stated in *The Missouri Historical Review* of October, 1935, (Vol. 30, No. 1), page 41.

## ANNIVERSARIES

The 106th anniversary of Hopewell Union Church, maintained jointly by Christian, Presbyterian, and Baptist congregations near Versailles, was celebrated August 4, 1935.

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The 100th anniversary of Bethlehem Baptist Church, in Boone county, was observed September 29, 1935.

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The 100th anniversary of the Keytesville Methodist Church is to be celebrated during October 13 to 16, 1935.—From the Keytesville *Chariton Courier*, October 4, 1935.

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The 100th anniversary of the Huntsville Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is to be observed October 27, 1935.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, October 26, 1935.

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The beginning of the 100th year of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, founded in 1836 as the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, will be observed September 19, 20, and 21, 1935.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, September 15, 1935.

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The 99th anniversary of the Lexington Christian Church is to be celebrated October 13, 1935. The church was organized April 17, 1836.—From the Lexington *Intelligencer*, October 11, 1935.

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The 95th anniversary of the Masonic Lodge at Liberty was celebrated October 9, 1935.—From the Kansas City *Journal-Post*, October 13, 1935.

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The 95th anniversary edition of the Boonville *Advertiser* was issued August 30, 1935, and dedicated to the late Walter Williams, president of the University of Missouri and a former editor of the *Advertiser*. This edition contains several historical articles, including a sketch of the paper from April 30, 1840, when it first appeared as the Boonville *Observer*, to the present.

The 83rd anniversary of the First Christian Church, in Kansas City, is to be celebrated October 6, 1935.—From the *Kansas City Star*, October 4, 1935.

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The 75th anniversary of the Union Church, near Blosser in Saline county, was observed August 18, 1935.—From the *Marshall Democrat-News*, August 21, 1935.

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The 75th anniversary of the dedication of Immaculate Conception Church at Brookfield was observed at a parish picnic on August 25, 1935. A souvenir program containing a historical sketch of the parish was published by the church.

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The 70th anniversary of the first train run from St. Louis to Kansas City, which occurred September 25, 1865, will be observed September 25, 1935, at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, September 24, 1935.

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The 50th anniversary of the West Plains *Weekly Quill* was observed by the issue of September 5, 1935. The paper has been published continuously by members of the Williams family, who in 1903 established the *Daily Quill* also.

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On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of Perry Christian Church, August 4, 1935, a historical pamphlet was published.

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The 32nd anniversary of the founding of the Lafayette-Lexington Chapter of the D. A. R. was celebrated June 12, 1935, at the Anderson House which stands on the Lexington battlefield. Plans for converting this house into a museum have been discussed.—From the *Lexington Intelligencer*, June 14, 1935.

## MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

A bronze tablet honoring the memory of Mark Twain was dedicated by the Masonic lodge in Hannibal, on November 19, 1935. The tablet was placed on a corner of the Masonic Temple.—From the Hannibal *Courier-Post*, November 19, 1935.

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A marker bearing this inscription: "To the memory of Frank P. Blair, statesman and soldier, who near this spot in 1866 denounced the Drake constitution. Erected by the Pike County Chapter, D. A. R.," was unveiled November 24, 1935, on the lawn of the Pike County Hospital, near Louisiana.—From the Louisiana *Press-Journal* November 26, 1935.

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The graves of two Revolutionary soldiers, David Jones and John Thornton, were marked August 20, 1935, by the Arrow Rock Chapter, D. A. R. Jones' grave is in the Reid-Kincheloe Cemetery in Cooper county, and the marker was erected there. Thornton's grave is on his farm in Arrow Rock township, section 22, and for him the marker was erected in Concord Christian Church Cemetery. The ceremonies are described in the Marshall *Democrat-News* of August 21, 1935, and biographical sketches of the soldiers, from an address by Mrs. W. R. Hubbard, appear in the same paper of August 21 and August 28, 1935.

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Official markers were erected at the graves of Mrs. Mary Crockett Harrison, daughter of a Revolutionary soldier, Major John Harrison, and Thomas Harrison, both of the latter being soldiers in the War of 1812. These markers were dedicated jointly by the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the United States Daughters of 1812, in the Harrison Cemetery near Auxvasse, on October 13, 1935.—From the Mexico *Evening Ledger*, October 14, 1935.

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The grave of Joel Garnett, a lieutenant in the War of 1812, in Rehoboth Cemetery half a mile north of Slater, was marked by the Armstrong Chapter of the U. S. Daughters



of 1812, on October 20, 1935. Garnett was born June 21, 1788, and died April 28, 1858.

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The grave of James Callaway, a Revolutionary soldier who is buried in Howard county, was marked September 22, 1935, by the Hannah Cole Chapter of the D. A. R.—From the Boonville *Daily News*, September 23, 1935. [Editor's Note: This man was an uncle of the Captain James Callaway who was killed by Indians on March 7, 1815, and who is buried in Montgomery county, Missouri.]

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## NOTES

It is planned to make a card index of some 125 volumes of old Lexington newspapers, beginning in the 1840's, which are preserved by the Lexington Public Library and Historical Association. This, as a WPA project, is to be sponsored by the city.—From the Lexington *Intelligencer*, October 11, 1935.

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A guide to historic, scenic, geological and recreational sites in Missouri, also containing folklore, will be compiled by the Missouri division of the Federal Writers' Project, of which Mrs. Austin Parker is supervisor.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, November 8, 1935.

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The Hawthorn Club has been originated by the *Missouri Magazine*, publication of the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce, Jefferson City. Its purpose is to encourage the study of local history by grade and high school students in schools which are subscribing to the *Missouri Magazine*. For admission the student must submit either a feature story about his community, a letter describing his visit to the State capitol, or a Missouri photograph. The club is sponsored by Esther Phillips Hager, who describes its purpose in the *Missouri Magazine* of September, 1935.

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To assist in the compilation of his forthcoming history of Cooper county, E. J. Melton of Boonville is offering ten dollars in prizes for the names of prominent citizens of the

county, living or dead, who deserve to be included in a Cooper County Hall of Fame. The contest period is from November 29, 1935 to January 11, 1936.—From the *Pilot Grove Weekly Record*, November 22, 1935.

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A county wide historical contest open to all rural schools in Cooper county, beginning October 1, 1935, is described in the *Boonville Advertiser* of September 27, 1935. Prizes totaling thirty-five dollars will be awarded by Charles van Ravenswaay and the *Advertiser*. The purpose of the contest is to discover and record songs, folklore, and local history. The sponsors of the contest are Gordon Renfrow, county superintendent of schools, Charles van Ravenswaay of Boonville, and the *Advertiser*.

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On the eve of the celebration of its 75th anniversary, the Gmelich and Schmidt Jewelry Company at Boonville found a receipt of October 11, 1863, showing that the soldiers of General Joseph Shelby's brigade had stolen several watches from them. The owner of the store demanded this receipt so that he might show his customers what had happened to their watches which had been left for repair.—From the *Kansas City Times*, October 29, 1935.

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Following the recent dedication in Marion county of a marker near the grave of "Peg-Leg" Shannon, a member, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, it has been learned that his great-great grandson, Shannon Botts, lives in Des Moines, Iowa.—From the *Palmyra Spectator*, November 13, 1935.

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The Mark Twain Centennial Homecoming was celebrated in Hannibal during September 9 to 14, 1935. A series of free entertainments, an exhibit of a replica of America's first railway mail car, the original of which was built in Hannibal, and the world's first Pullman sleeping car were special attractions. A free display of art, literature, and sculpture by Hanniballians, and music recitals in which were included selections played on Mark Twain's Aeolian Orchestrelle, were especially popular features of the celebration.

"Mark Twain Week" will be observed by the public schools of Livingston county, during the week of November 30, according to J. A. Boucher, superintendent of schools.—From the Chillicothe *Constitution-Tribune* November 19, 1935.

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In observance of the Mark Twain centennial a special exhibit of his works is on view at the Kansas City Public Library.—From the *Kansas City Times*, October 29, 1935.

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A parade of 1000 boys from New York's thirty-five boys' clubs was held in honor of Mark Twain on October 27, 1935.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 28, 1935.

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Several sketches by Aloysius J. Higgins, a native of Hannibal and now a successful Boston architect, were included in the art exhibit during the Mark Twain Centennial Homecoming, September 13-14, 1935. The artist was assisted in his early studies by the late Malcolm S. Martin, and later attended St. Louis, Washington, and Harvard Universities. For a time he taught in the Ranken School of Technology in St. Louis, then studied ecclesiastic architecture abroad for several years before beginning work in Boston.—From the *Hannibal Courier-Post*, September 13, 1935.

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Egbert Van Alstyn, widely known as the composer of the song "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree," was a resident of Hannibal and vicinity in his youth. His compositions and those of other Hannibalians were featured at a special exhibit and program during the Mark Twain Centennial Homecoming on September 12, 1935.—From the *Hannibal Courier-Post*, September 13, 1935.

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A new streamline train of the Burlington system was christened "The Mark Twain," by Miss Nina Gabrilowitsch, granddaughter of the author, at a public ceremony in Hannibal, October 25, 1935. Governor Guy B. Park of Missouri, Governor Clyde Herring of Iowa, and Ralph Budd, president of the railroad, made brief addresses which were features of

a thirty-minute broadcast over a national network.—From the *Hannibal Courier-Post*, October 25, 1935.

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The original navy flag under which the Missouri Naval Reserve was organized soon after the Spanish-American war will be presented to the Reserve tonight by Mrs. Nellie Becktold, widow of Capt. Matthew Bray, one of the founders of the organization.—From the *St. Louis Star-Times*, October 28, 1935.

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Union Cemetery in Kansas City has grave stones bearing birth dates back to 1750. A list of several of the earliest appears in the *Kansas City Star* of August 21, 1935.

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The home of the late David R. Francis, in St. Louis, is being razed.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, August 1, 1935.

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St. Ferdinand, the oldest incorporated community in St. Louis county, commonly known as Florissant, will ballot August 20, 1935, on becoming a city of the fourth class. Founded in 1787, it was first incorporated in 1829.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, August 18, 1935.

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Though the formalities of red tape won't let the United States say so officially, the War Department has admitted off the record that it was Stephen W. Thompson, native of West Plains, Missouri, who shot down the first German plane destroyed by the American forces in the World war. The War Department does not question the authenticity of his claim, but can give no official credit because the act "was not officially recorded by the proper officer in performance of official duty and at the proper time."—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 13, 1935, and the *Kansas City Star*, November 10, 1935.

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Nine forest ranger districts have been created by the Federal Government for the administration of forest lands in the Missouri Ozarks.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, August 16, 1935.

The career of Eugene Field is to be the subject of a broadcast over Station WSM, Nashville, at 9:30 p. m. on November 8, 1935, as a University of Missouri program.—From the *Columbia Missourian*, November 2, 1935.

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Land in farms in Missouri reached the lowest point, subsequent to 1890, in 1925. The number of farms, after increasing gradually up to 1900 began a steady decline, falling in line with the rural to urban trend generally prevalent throughout the country during this period. Now, with the trend reversed, there are more farms in Missouri than at any time in the history of the State except in 1890. Over the five-year period from 1930 to 1935 acreage was expanding, and the size of farms was decreasing. There are now 35,086,839 acres in farms.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 19, 1935.

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At the office of the Vital Statistics Department in St. Louis there is only a partial record of births in 1865 and for some earlier years. There is a gap from 1865 to 1868 but the records are more complete for the years after 1870. There was no law requiring these records to be kept prior to 1910.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 4, 1935.

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Philip Hoehn, last survivor of Colonel Hassendeubel Post No. 13 of the G. A. R., died October 18, 1935, at the age of 89.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 19, 1935.

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J. Howard Langley, a native of Missouri, who became president of the Grand River Dam Authority, a member of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and former member of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, died in Pryor, Oklahoma, October 27, 1935, at the age of 70.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 28, 1935.

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John W. Lanley, 86, last survivor of the Col. Meumann Post of the G. A. R., and former commander of the Missouri Department of the G. A. R., died in St. Louis, November 13, 1935.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 14, 1935.

Mrs. Josett Stone Nelson, sister of the late former Governor William Joel Stone, died in St. Louis on August 8, 1935, at the age of 57.—From the *St. Louis Star-Times*, August 8, 1935.

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Robert G. Scott, 90, a member of Lincoln's bodyguard, Indian fighter, politician, and author, died near Camdenton on September 26, 1935.—From the *Kansas City Star*, September 26, 1935.

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Thornton A. Washington, a descendant of the younger brother of George Washington, died in Garden City, Missouri, on August 10, 1935, at the age of 81.—From the *Kansas City Star*, August 11, 1935.

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A lengthy article describing the governmental plan of purchasing forest areas in Missouri and their development was written by Curtis A. Betts, in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of October 20, 1935.

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"Mark Twain's Visits to St. Louis," an article by Cyril Clemens, appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of October 24, 1935.

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In the first of a series of historical articles by Charles van Ravenswaay, published in the *Boonville Advertiser* of November 7, 1935, it is brought out that David H. Coyner, author of *The Lost Trappers; a Collection of Interesting Scenes and Events in the Rocky Mountains, etc.*, apparently lived near Boonville, Missouri, during 1845-47, when he was writing the book. The work is based largely upon the exploits of Captain Ezekiel Williams, a Missourian.

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A sketch of the career of General James Shields, written by Paul Clark, appears in the *Kansas City Star* of November 17, 1935.

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"Many Remnants of New France Still Survive in Eastern Part of Missouri," an article in the *Kansas City Star* of

October 9, 1935, describes many interesting features of south-east Missouri.

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"A Look Back Over 86 Years Living in Missouri Ozarks," by Mrs. Anna Garrison Posten, was published in the Eldon *Advertiser* of July 25, August 1 and August 8, 1935.

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"The History of Hartsburg," written by Miss Helen Mueller, began serial publication in the Hartsburg *Truth* of September 12, 1935.

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An article on Mrs. Berenice Chouteau, said to be the first white woman to make her home at the present site of Kansas City, appears in the Kansas City *Times* of October 2, 1935.

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"Chapel Hill Pioneer Doctors," is the title of a lengthy article in the Odessa *Missouri Democrat* of August 30, 1935.

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A sketch of the career of James Carroll Beckwith, world famous portrait painter who was born in Hannibal, Missouri, September 23, 1852, and died October 24, 1917, appears in the Hannibal *Courier-Post* of September 23, 1935.

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An article on steamboat navigation on the Osage river before the Civil war, written by Gerard Schultz, appears in the Warsaw *Benton County Enterprise* of August 2, 1935.

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An address on the history of the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation, which was organized in Slater in 1915, delivered by President R. W. Brown, is printed in the Jefferson City, *Missouri Farm Bureau News* of September 6, 1935.

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A description of the huge, proposed river front memorial to Thomas Jefferson in St. Louis appears in the St. Louis *Star-Times* of August 2, 1935.

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A former slave, Rev. Charles Gabriel Anderson, now of St. Louis, is said to be 118 years old. A brief sketch of his life appears in the St. Louis *Argus* of September 13, 1935.



The vanished town of New Santa Fe, at the present junction of 121st Street and State Line Road, Kansas City, is described in the *Kansas City Star* of September 9, 1935.

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Reminiscences of the late Will Rogers as a student at Kemper Military School at Boonville, written by former classmates, appear in the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of August 18, 1935.

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An illustrated article describing many of the historical relics in old Ste. Genevieve, written by Marguerite Martyn, appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of August 17, 1935.

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"What Fourteen Men Started the Afternoon of November 14, 1838," a lengthy article by A. B. Macdonald in the *Kansas City Star* of October 20, 1935, is based upon documents concerning the founding of Kansas City which are preserved in the Kansas State Historical Society.

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A sketch of the career of Dr. Benjamin Dunkley, pioneer physician of western Missouri, appears in the *Kansas City Times* of July 31, 1935.

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The early history of aviation in St. Louis is given in the *St. Louis Star-Times* of August 9, 1935.

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The part taken by St. Louis men in the military and naval conflicts of the United States is related in the *St. Louis Star-Times* of August 10, 12, and 14, 1935.

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A series of articles on the history and traditions of southeast Missouri, written by Professor R. S. Douglass for daily publication in the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian*, began in the issue of October 16, 1935.

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A series of historical articles on St. Francois county, compiled from official records and other reliable sources by J. Tom Miles, was published in the *Farmington News* of September 13, 1935, and following issues.

Articles by George W. Bailey of Brookfield, concerning the Civil war in Linn county, have been published in the *Linneus Linn County News*, July 25, 1935, *Brookfield Budget-Gazette*, August 14, 1935, and the *Brookfield Argus* of August 28 and September 17, 1935.

## HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*The Discovery of the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward From Astoria in 1812-13. . . To Which is Added an Account of the Tonquin's Voyage and of Events at Fort Astoria [1811-12] and Wilson Price Hunt's Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria in 1811-12*, edited by Philip Ashton Rollins (New York, 1935, 391 pp.). The publication, after 122 years, of the journal of Robert Stuart's overland expedition from Astoria to St. Louis in 1812-13 complements that of Wilson Price Hunt on his historic expedition from St. Louis to Astoria in 1811-12, which is published in English for the first time from the French translation. Through the publication of these two journals, the complete, authentic contemporary accounts of the two epoch-making expeditions which traced the route of the Oregon Trail, the story of which has hitherto been told in Washington Irving's *Astoria*, is for the first time made available. The significance of this publication, therefore, is immediately apparent.

Mr. Rollins' able work is the second of Mr. William Robertson Coe's projected series of printings of Western manuscripts in his possession, the first of which appeared in 1927. In this excellently edited volume, Mr. Rollins gives the results of his scholarly study of the route of Stuart. After going himself by car, on horseback, and on foot minutely over the route of Stuart and carefully comparing it with that of others, he attributes to Stuart the distinction of the discoveries of South Pass and of that route, which, through Stuart's linking of South Pass, the Sweetwater, and the Red Buttes with Indian trails west and east, made practicable for the oncoming immigrant the more devious and prohibitive "Oregon Trail" of Hunt.

A second marked feature of Mr. Rollins' scholarship is his presentation of the Stuart journal in conjunction with the *Traveling Memoranda* from the French edition of *Nouvelles Annales Des Voyages, De La Geographie et De L'Histoire* (Paris, 1821), the only previously existing edition of any kind, of Stuart's revision of his original journal, which was the source drawn upon by Irving. Through Mr. Rollins' able editing both the discrepancies and additional information of the *Memoranda* are thus added to the journal. Appendix "A," which contains translations from *Nouvelles Annales* of Hunt's diary of his overland trip westward and of the voyage of the *Tonquin*, presents these sources for the first time in English and makes available in one volume, with the journal and the *Memoranda*, the important sources for the earliest history of the trail to Oregon.

Copious notes, a history of the various Indian tribes mentioned by Stuart which is found in Appendix "B," a lengthy historical foreword, biographies of the members of Stuart's expedition, maps of the routes of Stuart, Hunt, and Lewis and Clark, an imposing bibliography and a carefully worked out index are additional features of this scholarly and excellently edited work.

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*Mark Twain, The Man and His Work*, by Edward Wagenknecht (New Haven, 1935, 301 pp.). Concerning the greatness of Mark Twain, whom he characterizes as the epitome of his age, the author says: "To achieve that result you must be more than an artist, you must be a character." This book, consequently, is one in which Mr. Wagenknecht seeks to approach the literary genius and magnetism of Mark Twain through an analysis of his personality. The result, which is a delightfully sane, balanced and human interpretation, based upon the author's own painstaking researches and a careful consideration of the judgments of such recognized Mark Twain critics as Bernard De Voto, Van Wyck Brooks, Albert Bigelow Paine, Frederick Schönmann, Gamaliel Bradford and Miss M. M. Brashear, is, in all probability, the crowning interpretative work of Mark Twain's centenary.

This thoroughly readable book is divided into three parts: "Mark Twain," "Mr. Samuel L. Clemens," and the "Sage of Redding." The first considers the influence of environment, experience and aesthetic training upon Mark Twain's art, with emphasis upon the influence of the frontier. The second is devoted to a study of Mark Twain, the man—his appearance, health, personal traits, his attitudes toward and opinions upon a broad variety of subjects and his home and family life. The portrait achieved is that of a vital, colorful and dynamic personality unsuppressed by influences of either home or environment. The third is a careful and detailed analysis of Mark Twain as a philosopher with particular reference to his pessimism.

In addition to the formidable array of published sources and authorities used by Mr. Wagenknecht for his study, the unpublished Mark Twain letters to the Fairbanks family, now in the Huntington Library, have been drawn upon. The text has also copious notes, an index and an excellent bibliography.

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*Mark Twain's Notebook; Prepared for Publication With Comments by Albert Bigelow Paine* (New York, 1935, 413 pp.). Like the appearance of Mark Twain himself on the stage of his centennial celebration is this timely publication of his hitherto unpublished notebooks by his authorized biographer, Albert Bigelow Paine. Covering the scope of the years of his written works, these notes—a combination of diary, workbook and random jottings—are skilfully arranged by Mr. Paine to make a lively, intimate and informal narrative. The result is a delightfully refreshing and sane retrospect—unwittingly afforded by Mark Twain himself—of his life, character and intellect, of his social, economic, political and religious beliefs and of his published works. Though Mr. Paine states in his *Foreword* that the notebooks are offered "in full," this assertion is scarcely borne out in the content. An index, photographs, facsimiles and generally excellent make-up add to the usefulness and attractiveness of the book.

The pressing problem of the depletion of natural resources as applied to the Ozark highland region is ably and interestingly set forth by Professor Conrad Hammar, of the Department of Agricultural Economics of the University of Missouri, in an article entitled "Institutional Aspects of Ozark Decline" which appears in the October, 1935, issue of the *Journal of Forestry*. The economic decline of this area, which comprises approximately 25,000 square miles and a population of some 400,000, Mr. Hammar attributes to the traditional pioneer belief that natural resources are inexhaustible. The need, therefore, of fostering corrective economic and social attitudes to check the serious economic decline of the region is pointed out by Mr. Hammar.

As evidence of the economic plight resulting from the depletion of the one-time natural wealth of the Ozark region, Mr. Hammar cites the fact that the relief load in the Ozark counties in 1933 and 1934 was greater than in any other group of rural counties in Missouri and that, whereas in 1929, only 5% of the farmers in the northwest counties of the State reported incomes of less than \$600, more than 50% of the farmers in six Ozark counties fell into this class. This situation, as Mr. Hammar points out, has made an anachronism of the traditional small pioneer county unit by necessitating a system of government based on an excessively high rate of taxation, which in turn, has accelerated the pernicious tendency toward a purely extractive type of agriculture. Still another contributory factor to the vicious circle, according to Mr. Hammar, has been the separation of forestry and agriculture, a practice, which, while traditionally applicable to the richer soils of other counties, has resulted only in poverty and destitution in the Ozarks.

The solution of the problem, as Mr. Hammar sees it, lies in a carefully planned economy based upon a development of the resources of power, industry, forests and recreational facilities of the Ozark region, together with a revision of the existing county governments—a program which, in turn, can be achieved only through a complete socialization of the present attitudes of pioneer individualism.

*My Life on the Frontier*, by Miguel Antonio Otero (New York, Pioneer Press, 1935, 239 pp.). These lively, intimate and authoritative reminiscences by a former governor of New Mexico vividly record the story of the Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico frontier between 1866 and 1879. As one of the few men living whose lives touched personally the colorful history of the succession of terminal towns which attended the westward extension of the Kansas Pacific Railroad from Kansas City, Missouri, to Denver, Colorado, and of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe from Granada, Colorado, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, Mr. Otero is eminently qualified to record the story. A lover since childhood of the frontier life afforded by his father's large commission business of *Otero and Seller* which followed the westward progress of the railroads, Mr. Otero twice left St. Louis University and also Annapolis to rejoin the westward progression of frontier terminal towns with which for more than twenty years of his life he was associated.

Terminal towns such as Ellsworth, Hayes, Sherman, Kit Carson, Granada and Otero whose meteoric hey day and concentration of conglomerate humanity were eclipsed only to reappear at the next railroad terminus, buffalo hunts, the commission house business, vigilantes, stock rustlers, gambling and dance halls and "sixshooters," frontier good times and wholesome fun, debauchery, lawlessness and disorder, the business and political career of the author's father who was prominent in New Mexico history, European visitors on the frontier, early mining claims and frontier personalities, among them Calamity Jane, Wild Bill Hickok, General Custer, Buffalo Bill, Kit Carson, Uncle Dick Wooten, Bella M. Hughes, Jesse James, Billy the Kid and Lucien B. Maxwell, form highlights of the book. Though limited in its Missouri setting, *My Life On the Frontier* is a zestful and glamorous history touching Missouri at many points and which is of particular interest to Missourians as a background of the teeming life and industry which gave rise, as a result of the construction of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, to the phenomenal growth of Kansas City in the seventies and eighties.

*The Autobiography of Mary R. Luster, Written in Her Eighty-first and Eighty-second Years* (Springfield, Missouri, 1935, 196 pp.). This sincere and unusual autobiography though essentially a family history is, at the same time, an intensely interesting, colorful and dramatic historical document. The author, whose family moved from Kentucky to Illinois and then to Missouri in 1858, crossed the plains to Idaho in 1864, and returned to Missouri a few years later where she lived successively in Pleasant Hill, Brunswick, Chillicothe, West Plains, and Springfield. A remarkably vivid narrative covering more than three-quarters of a century, the author in her simple and homely recital of the family fortunes covers a wealth of social, historical, religious, and economic facts relative to many times and scenes of pioneer and post-pioneer life.

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*William Rockhill Nelson and the Kansas City Star: Their Relation to the Development of the Beauty and Culture of Kansas City and the Middlewest*, by Icie F. Johnson (Kansas City, Missouri, 1935, 208 pp. Introduction by William Allen White). While interesting for its warmly human and dramatic interpretation of the character of William Rockhill Nelson, which is at the same time one of thoughtful and careful analysis, this book concerning Kansas City's great newspaper publisher and his life work, can scarcely be said to supplant *William Rockhill Nelson: A Story of a Man, a Newspaper and a City* published in 1915 by the staff of the Kansas City Star, much of the material of which it duplicates. The concluding chapters, however, which cover the years since Nelson's death in 1915, contain interesting supplementary material on the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and the history since 1915 of the Kansas City Star. The chapter concerning the newspaper, which is devoted to the Star as a "Nelson Institution," perpetuating and advancing the ideas and ideals of its founder from the time of his death to the present, is the most interesting contribution of the book.

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A collection of prize-winning and outstanding poems of Missouri University students submitted in the five Mahan



Poetry contests from 1930 to 1935 appears in *Poems of Missouri Students*, edited by Professor Robert L. Ramsay of the English Department of Missouri University. (University of Missouri, Columbia, 1935, 64 pp. Price twenty-five cents). This volume, which supplements *Verses Written by Students of the University of Missouri*, published in 1923, brings down to date the record of student competition in poetry on the campus of the University since 1905. In addition, it heralds the first of the *Ellis Booklets of Student Creative Writing* made possible by the J. Breckenridge Ellis Fund established for the purpose of providing recognition for worthy creative writing done by students of the University of Missouri.

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*Wilkinson, Soldier and Pioneer*, by James Wilkinson (New Orleans, 1935, 238 pp.). This defense of James Wilkinson by his great grandson seeks to refute the charges that Wilkinson, in his leadership of the threatened secession of Kentucky between 1785 and 1790, was guilty of disloyalty, that he was in the paid service of Spain or that he was a principal in the Burr conspiracy. Though Mr. Wilkinson, who is a member of the New Orleans bar and vice-president of the Louisiana Historical Society, conducts his defense largely through an attack upon the enemies of his ancestor, he nevertheless presents an array of facts and evidence which, if not always convincing, is at least provocative. Undoubtedly Mr. Wilkinson's ardent and carefully prepared defense of his grandfather will do much toward a revision of the generally prevalent historical judgment of Wilkinson.

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*Will Rogers, Cadet*, by A. M. Hitch (Boonville, Missouri, 1935, 23 pp. Price ten cents). This unusual little pamphlet of more than passing interest relates to the Missouri school days of America's beloved humorist during his attendance at Kemper Military School at Boonville, where he was enrolled as a cadet in 1897 and 1898. The author, who is Superintendent of Kemper Military School, has drawn for his material upon written and verbal recollections of former schoolmates, upon school records, testimonials of teachers and subsequent personal contacts of the school with Rogers. Humorous

marginal pen sketches and photographs of Rogers together with facsimiles of letters and school records add to the personal touch of this delightfully informal and interesting little study.

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*A History of the Messenger Family*, compiled and arranged by Estelle Messenger Harrington (St. Louis, 1934, 138 pp.). This book, devoted to the ancestry and descendants of John Messenger and his wife Anne Lyon Messenger, includes also the histories of the allied families of Colonel Matthew Lyon and Captain James Piggott. Though relating primarily to Illinois in its geographical setting, the genealogical and historical information concerning Captain James Piggott, who established in 1794 the first regular ferry across the Mississippi at St. Louis, will be of particular interest to students of Missouri history.

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A workbook of interesting simplicity and objectivity intended, evidently, for the use of teachers of Missouri history in the lower grades of high school, is a *Workbook in Missouri History* (Oklahoma City, 1935), compiled by Loyd E. Grimes, Superintendent of the Crane, Missouri, public schools and Miss Margaret Potter, a member of the history department of the Riverview Gardens, Missouri, High School. The eight units which cover the field of Missouri history are presented as objectively as possible through the use of such aids as outlines, maps, charts, true-false and substitution tests, identification and vocabulary exercises and illustrative quotations relative to Missouri history. The list of references upon which the workbook is based emphasizes the generally available Missouri history text-books and standard works.

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"Bethlehem Baptist Church and Perche Township," an address delivered by Judge North Todd Gentry, president of the Boone County Historical Society, on the occasion of Bethlehem's one hundredth anniversary, September 29, 1935, has been printed in pamphlet form.

"Transfer of Upper Louisiana; Papers of Captain Amos Stoddard," a valuable contribution on this subject, appears as the May-September, 1935, issue of *Glimpses of The Past*, published by the Missouri Historical Society, of St. Louis.

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Twenty-five letters written between July 6, 1778, and October 18, 1779, designated as the Clark-Leyba papers, have been brought to light in the Papeles de Cuba, Archivo general de Indias, by Lawrence Kinnaird, and are printed in the *American Historical Review* of October, 1935. The correspondence is mainly between George Rogers Clark and Fernando de Leyba, the latter being Spanish lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana at St. Louis. The generous financial and moral support which Leyba gave Clark in his campaigns is illustrated in these papers, and casts a favorable light upon the aid which the Spanish administration in the Mississippi valley rendered the United States during the Revolution.

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"An Annotated Catalogue of the Flowering Plants of Missouri," by Ernest J. Palmer and Julian A. Steyermark, was published as the September, 1935, number of the *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*. The catalogue comprises 383 pages.

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"The Jeffersonian Background of the Louisiana Purchase," by W. Edwin Hemphill, appears in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of September, 1935.

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"Three St. Louis Artists," by Marquis W. Childs, in the August, 1935, issue of *The American Magazine of Art* (Washington), describes the work of E. Oscar Thalinger, Miriam McKinnie, and Joe Jones.

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"Mark Twain Tramping Abroad," by William Bayles, appears in *Germany and You*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1935.

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An article on "Mark Twain's Virginia Kin," by C. O. Paullin, appears in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* of July, 1935.

An article entitled "Pierre De Smet: Frontier Missionary," by Thomas F. O'Connor, appears in the issue of *Mid-America* for July, 1935.

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An article about a Missourian, "John Colter—the Man Who Turned Back," written by C. H. Heffelfinger, appears in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* of July, 1935.

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"William Keil and Communist Colonies," by John E. Simon, in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* of June, 1935, is an article concerning the founder of the colony at Bethel, Missouri, who later emigrated to Oregon.

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A reprint of the "Report Made by Albert Miller Lea on the Iowa-Missouri Boundary," with a map showing the various lines, appears in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, July, 1935.

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"A Plan That Failed," by J. A. Swisher, in *The Palimpsest* of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gives an account of the early projects to encourage and improve navigation of the Des Moines river.

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#### PERSONALS

JOSEPH H. BOWRON: Born in Champlain, New York; died in Lebanon, Mo., Oct. 21, 1935, at the age of 80. He attended the Albany (N. Y.) Law School, and was admitted to the bar in May, 1880. He practiced law in Sedalia, Mo., from 1890 to 1911, then moved to Kansas City where he practiced until 1917. He then moved to Lebanon and during 1921-22 and 1927-28 was prosecuting attorney of Laclede county. During 1929-34 he was judge of the nineteenth judicial circuit.

GEORGE D. CATES: Born in Austin, Texas, Feb. 9, 1876; died in Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 12, 1935. He was educated at Pea Ridge, Masonic College, and the State Teachers Colleges at Cape Girardeau and Warrensburg. He taught school in McDonald county fourteen years, then engaged in banking in

Southwest City. He was elected to the General Assembly in 1910, as senator from the 18th district. He moved to Oklahoma and in 1922 was auditor of the House of Representatives there. In 1927 he moved to Kansas City and in 1933 was appointed deputy election commissioner.

JOHN B. CRUM: Born in Jamestown, Mo., July 19, 1885; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 15, 1935. He was educated in the State Teachers College at Warrensburg, then engaged in banking at Meta. He moved to Vandalia about 1920 and reengaged in banking, and also served as mayor two terms. He was representative from Audrain county in the 53rd and 54th General Assemblies, in 1925 and 1927. He had resided in Louisiana, Mo., a few years preceding his death.

B. RAY FRANKLIN: Born in Callaway county, Mo., Dec. 8, 1882; died near Bagnell Dam, Oct. 22, 1935. At an early age he worked on the *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, and in 1906 went to St. Louis. A year later he bought the *Russellville Rustler* which he operated until April, 1918. His paper was merged with the Jefferson City *Daily Capital News*, and he conducted the latter for two years. He sold his interest in the *News*, but continued as advertising and business manager for some time. Three years before his death he established the Osage Beach Tavern on the Lake of the Ozarks, and operated this until his death. He was elected secretary of the Missouri Press Association in 1917.

FREDERICK HENRY FRICKE: Died in St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 16, 1935, at the age of 62. He engaged in the pharmacy business in St. Louis for thirty-five years, and had been president of the Missouri Pharmaceutical Association. During 1913-1917 he was State food and drug commissioner.

ALANSON MASON HASWELL: Born in Maulmain, Burma, East India, June 29, 1847; died in Joplin, Mo., Aug. 7, 1935. He was educated in Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., and in 1868 moved to Springfield, Mo., and entered business. In 1876 he moved to Joplin where he lived several years. Later, he returned to Springfield and became land agent for the St. Louis & San Francisco railroad, then, during 1905-09

and 1929-35, again lived in Joplin. He was representative from Greene county in the 34th General Assembly in 1887. He was author of several books about the Ozarks.

VICTOR SOPHUS JOACHIM HOLM: Born in Copenhagen, Denmark, Dec. 6, 1876; died in St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 11, 1935. He moved to Chicago with his father in 1890. He studied sculpturing under Lorado Taft, then in the Chicago Art Institute, and under Philip Martiny and Augustus St. Gaudens. Shortly after opening a studio in New York he accepted a position in the St. Louis School of Fine Arts, which subsequently merged with Washington University. He established a high reputation as a teacher of sculpture, and in addition made many busts and statues throughout Missouri and the Middle West.

CLAIR KENAMORE: Born at Eminence, Mo.; died in Portland, Ore., Nov. 3, 1935, at the age of 60. He began work on the St. Louis *Republic*, then worked in Chicago before joining the staff of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in October, 1907. He served as telegraph editor, feature writer, and Sunday magazine editor. In 1916 he accompanied Gen. Pershing's expeditionary force to Mexico, and after his return went with the 139th Infantry to Camp Doniphan. He returned from overseas in May, 1919. He wrote histories of the Thirty-fifth Division and the 139th Infantry. He traveled in Europe and wrote for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* until his health caused his retirement.

OTTO KOCHTITZKY: Born near South Bend, Ind., May 4, 1855; died at Cape Girardeau, Mo., June 23, 1935. He moved to Missouri with his parents and in 1875 began the study of the swamp land area. In 1881 he was placed in charge of the survey of the Little River Valley and Arkansas railroad, from New Madrid to Malden. Upon the organization of the Little River Drainage District he was made chief engineer. Three years later, in 1910, he resigned to become a general contractor and thereafter constructed many of the drainage ditches.

MRS. THEODOSIA TRIGG THORNTON LAWSON: Born near Liberty, Mo., Aug. 8, 1836; died in St. Joseph, Mo.,

July 8, 1935. She married L. M. Lawson of St. Joseph (later a resident of New York), a scholar, writer, and financier. Mrs. Lawson traveled abroad extensively, and had been presented to Pope Pious IX, and at the Court of St. James.

HENRY PARK LAY: Born at Warsaw, Mo., Apr. 25, 1870; died at Warsaw, Mo., Nov. 7, 1935. He was educated in the University of Missouri, and Washington University. He practiced law in Warsaw. In 1892 he was a presidential elector. Judge Lay was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1922-23. In 1932 he was elected to the General Assembly, as representative from Benton county.

FELICE LYNE: Born at Slater, Mo.; died at Allentown, Pa., Sept. 1, 1935. She was educated in Kansas City, then studied voice in Paris. After several seasons in Hammerstein's opera house in London she made a world tour with the Quinlan Opera Company. At the outbreak of the World war she returned to the United States and joined the Boston Opera Company, then made a tour with Pavlowa. She returned to England in 1916 and divided her time between London and Paris until 1932, when she returned to the United States.

CLARK McADAMS: Born in Jersey county, Ill., in 1874; died in St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 30, 1935. He was educated in Shurtleff College, then began newspaper work in Alton, Ill., where he later edited the Alton *Republican*. He moved to St. Louis in the late nineties, and joined the staff of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. He conducted the column "Just a Minute" for over twenty years, and wrote much verse. He was in charge of the editorial page from 1929 until shortly before his death. For two years he was an instructor in journalism at Washington University. He was an authority on bird life, and was also one of the founders of the Artists' Guild, of which he was president from 1913 until 1935. He was president of the Little Theatre organization.

CURTIS FLETCHER MARBUT: Born in Lawrence county, Mo., July 19, 1863; died at Harbin, Manchuria, Aug. 25, 1935. He was educated in the University of Missouri, Harvard University, and in European universities. He was instructor



in geology and mineralogy at the University of Missouri during 1895-1913, and director of the soil survey of Missouri, 1905-1913. In 1909 he became connected with the U. S. Bureau of Soils, and some years later served on soil commissions sent to Nicaragua and Brazil. He directed the efforts of the first international conference of soil workers held in Washington in 1927. In 1929 he was awarded the Cullum medal of the American Geographical Society for a report on African soils. He was made an honorary professor at the University of Missouri in 1934, and was to occupy a post there after his scheduled retirement in July, 1936. Burial was in Cassville, Mo., Oct. 26, 1935.

HERMAN O. MAXEY: Born in Ezel, Ky., Oct. 5, 1871; died in Butler, Mo., Sept. 13, 1935. He moved with his parents to Johnstown, Bates county, and was educated in the State Teachers College at Warrensburg, Mo., and Hamilton College of Law, Chicago, Ill. He served one term as school commissioner of Bates county, one as county superintendent of schools, and two as clerk of the circuit court, then began the practice of law. He was a delegate to the Democratic national convention in St. Louis in 1916. He was elected to the 50th, 52nd, 56th, and 57th General Assemblies of Missouri, and was majority floor leader in 1923 and speaker *pro tem.* in 1931.

I. L. PAGE: Died in Denver, Colorado, Oct. 7, 1935, at the age of 62. For many years he was editor of the Bonne Terre (Mo.) *Star*, then moved to Greeley, Colo., where he resided until his death.

JOSEPH D. PERKINS: Born near Farmington, Mo., Feb. 10, 1851; died at Carthage, Mo., Oct. 27, 1935. He was school commissioner of St. Francois county during 1877, and was admitted to the bar the following year. He began practice in Farmington, where he remained five years. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Madison county in 1878 and 1880. In June, 1883, he moved to Carthage and resumed his practice. In 1896 he was elected circuit judge to fill an unexpired term of two years. He was reelected in 1898, 1910, and 1916. In 1928 he retired from practice.

**ALFRED A. SPEER:** Born in Carroll county, Ind., Oct. 8, 1858; died in Jefferson City, Mo., Nov. 20, 1935. Early in life he engaged in contracting work on Missouri railroads, and in 1886 moved to Chamois, where he engaged in merchandising and banking. He was mayor three terms, and was representative from Osage county in the General Assembly for five terms. During the session of 1909 he was speaker of the house. He was a delegate-at-large to the Republican national convention of 1912. He was president of the First National Bank of Jefferson City from 1916 to 1930, and during 1911-17 served on the Missouri Capitol Commission. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1922-23, and in 1926 was appointed to the board of curators of the University of Missouri. In 1928 he was president of the Missouri Bankers' Association.

**HOWARD R. SPENCER:** Born in Princeton, Mo., June 21, 1871; died in Princeton, Mo., Sept. 30, 1935. He attended Trenton College, then taught school, serving as superintendent of schools at Mercer and Ravanna. He was treasurer of Mercer county two terms, circuit clerk and recorder two terms, and representative in the 54th and 55th General Assemblies. He edited the *Princeton Missouri Telegraph* twenty-two years, and was treasurer of the Missouri Press Association two terms.

**DANIEL G. TAYLOR:** Born at St. Louis, Mo., Apr. 23, 1868; died at La Jolla, Cal., Aug. 22, 1935. He was educated in Notre Dame University and Washington University, and was admitted to the bar in 1891. He engaged in private practice until 1903, then began a six-year term as circuit judge. He thereafter reentered private practice, and in 1914 became president of the Guardian Trust Company. Later he organized the law firm of Taylor, Chasnoff and Willson. In 1918 he became chairman of the St. Louis Board of Election Commissioners, and in 1922-23 was a member of the Constitutional Convention. He was a delegate to the Democratic national convention in 1932.

MRS. LYDIA NEILL WHITE: Born in Warrensburg, Mo., Sept., 20, 1880; died in Kansas City, Mo., July 29, 1935. She was graduated from the State Teachers College at Warrensburg, and then taught school in Pittsburgh, Pa., for seven years. She married E. M. White, of Warsaw, in 1905. She was active in local politics, and was alternate to the Democratic national convention in 1920. During 1926-1930 she was a member of the State Democratic Committee, and in 1932 was a delegate to the Democratic national convention. Mrs. White was a member, and secretary, of the National Recovery Board of Missouri following 1932. For nearly twenty years she was associate editor of the Warsaw *Benton County Enterprise*.

FRANKLIN ALONZO WIGGS: Born in Union county, Ill., Aug. 2, 1857; died in Lutesville, Mo., Aug. 16, 1935. He was graduated from Ewing College, in Ewing, Ill., and in 1888 went to Colorado where he stayed a few years. In 1892 he entered the printing business in Chester, and in 1893 founded the *Mountain View Times*. In 1900 he moved to Charleston, Mo., and founded the *Star*. He then moved to Lutesville in 1904 and purchased the *Banner*, and published this paper until 1922 when he merged it with the *Marble Hill Press*, and thereafter issued the *Marble Hill Banner-Press*.

GARLAND WILSON: Born at Bethany, Mo.; died in Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 31, 1935, at the age of 50. He was educated in the University of Missouri and the University of Michigan, being graduated in law in 1907. He practiced in partnership with his father for three years. He was city attorney of Bethany from 1908 to 1912, and in 1913-14 was prosecuting attorney. He was a delegate to the Democratic national convention of 1912. Upon the death of his father he succeeded him as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1922-23. His home was in Bethany.

## MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

### THE "UNDERGROUND RAILROAD" IN BOONVILLE

Reprinted from the Boonville Observer by the Glasgow *Weekly Times* of December 1, 1853.

A Canadian by the name of F. H. Moss recently decoyed off three negroes from Boonville, and got as far as Audrain county, where, with the negroes he was apprehended and brought back. The last Boonville *Observer* says:

"On Tuesday morning Moss was tried before justices Torbert and Porter for the offense of 'running off slaves.' He admitted his guilt, as he had previously done at the time of his capture, and was committed to jail for trial at the next term of the circuit court in default of securing a bail for \$10,000. The party made no resistance when they were taken. Moss admitted his guilt, stating that he had done wrong, but if he had to suffer, he would expose those who had instigated the act. On the day of the trial he made a private confession to Messrs. Hayden and Tompkins, furnishing these gentlemen with names and other information connected with the 'underground railroad' system as practised in Missouri.

"All the jewelry and stolen property, amounting to about \$800, was recovered. Moss is a poor, simple-minded creature, probably the tool of designing knaves, as he freely admits. It is believed that his evidence will place the public on their guard as to the organized efforts of incendiaries, if it should perchance fail in their conviction. There is no doubt that the party were making for Canada, as the negroes state that they were instigated to steal the jewelry, because it required funds to travel through the free States."

A public meeting was held, at which funds were raised and placed in the hands of Messrs. Hayden and Tompkins, for the purpose of investigating the charges against those implicated by Moss' confession.

### THE DEATH OF DANIEL BOONE

Reprinted from the Winchester (Ky.) *Clark County Democrat*, by the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, April 27, 1877.

..... The following [is a] letter from Col. A. G. Boone, one of the commissioners to treat with the Sioux Indians for the cession of the Black Hills country, ..... [who] was born near Greenupsburg, Ky., in 1806, and is a grandson of the illustrious pioneer, and was near by when Daniel Boone died:

Washington, D. C.

March 26, 1877.

Editors *Clark County Democrat*:

Sirs: — I see in your paper of March 7th an account of the death of my grandfather, Daniel Boone, taken from the *Western Citizen*, Sept. 8, 1809. This is a hoax, and was published by a man whose name I have forgotten. I remember that my father, Judge Jesse Boone, on seeing it, went to the editor and demanded an explanation. The man said that he had been to Missouri to purchase land, and on returning wanted to have something exciting in the account of his trip; he therefor put this in. He gave my father a letter of apology with the above explanation.

The true account of the death of Daniel Boone is this: He died at the house of his youngest son, Nathan Boone (afterward lieut. colonel in the regular army) on the Femme Osage river, Mo., in the fall of 1820, after a short sickness. He never complained, but seemed to have worn out. I was close by at the time. He had given up his fort at La Charette (which he built for the protection of everybody during Indian hostilities) to Mr. Flanders Calloway, who was married to my aunt Jemima, the daughter of Daniel Boone, who was captured by the Shawnees near Boonesborough (with Calloway's sister), and who was recaptured, her father and friends killing all the Indians. My grandfather sometimes stopped with Flanders Calloway. The last year of his life he spent with my father, and had gone on a visit to my uncle Nathan, where he died. He had not hunted much for several years before his death. "The Life of Daniel Boone," by Timothy Flint, is the most correct history of my grandfather's career. Rev. Timothy Flint, a Baptist preacher, was teaching school at St. Charles, and I went to school to him. St. Charles is thirty miles from La Charette, and Flint would come up and spend a few days with grandfather and take notes, repeating his visits frequently, until he completed his work. Grandfather was not taciturn by any means, but on the contrary delighted in conversation.

I merely write this in order that the people of Kentucky—above all others—may not be misled by an *ante mortem* obituary of a man whom they honor, and who lived 11 years after his reputed demise.

Very respectfully,

A. G. BOONE,  
Denver, Col.

[Editor's Note: The correct date of Daniel Boone's death is September 26, 1820. Especially noteworthy facts in this article are that Daniel Boone lived with his son, Jesse, during the last year of his life and that, contrary to a rather general belief, he was not taciturn.]

## 1856 PANORAMA SHOWED ST. JOSEPH AND MISSOURI RIVER

From the Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, November 4, 1856.

Johnson's Panorama of the City of St. Joseph—Missouri River and Kansas. This magnificent painting, we learn from Dr. Leach, the proprietor and manager, will be exhibited in this city, about the first of December. The painting embraces eleven scenes of the City of St. Joseph, and is truly a life like picture of that enterprising city. Its rapid progress and its geographical location, and commercial imporium [sic], has made it a place of importance to all the eastern cities.

The picture exhibits the battle grounds of the first civil war, under the American government. Lawrence with its fortification and free state house, Lecompton the besieged capitol of the Territory, Franklin sacked, a moon light scene representing the battle and capture of a cannon by the Free State party, on the night of the 12th of August, also a view of Doniphan, Atchison, Weston, Fort Leavenworth and other cities.

We hope our citizens will give the Dr. such a house his enterprise so richly merits. It is emphatically a western picture, gotten up by western artists, and deserves the patronage of all.

The following is from the St. Joseph correspondent of the *Republican*, who has witnessed the panorama, speaks for itself, and is sufficient evidence of its merits. The time and place will be advertised, so as to give all an opportunity to witness the exhibition:

Johnson's Panorama was exhibited on the night of the 21st and again last night, and is the theme of general praise. It represents St. Joseph in twelve different scenes; also Palermo, Doniphan, Leavenworth, Lawrence, Topeka, Lecompton, Franklin, &c. Professor Johnson, aided by the capital and enterprise of our estimable townsman, Dr. Leach, has been enabled to get living pictures of all the points of leading interest in Kansas, and purposes to take them to the North and South and exhibit to those who cannot come this far to see the places, with whose names the world is now familiar and which have been the scenes of such thrilling incidents.

## CENTENARY OF DAVID RANKEN, JR.

An Editorial in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, October 19, 1935.

The 100th anniversary this month of the birth of David Ranken, Jr., one of St. Louis' outstanding philanthropists, has not gone unnoticed, thanks to the all-seeing eye of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia. One of the weekly bulletins issued for October by this alert organization tells the story of his life and his unique interest in boys. Born, appropriately enough, in Boystown, County Londonderry, he came to St. Louis from Ireland when 27. Here everything he touched literally turned to gold. Post-Civil war St. Louis was growing rapidly and David Ranken, Jr., whose business interests were real estate and railroads, soon found himself a millionaire.

What to do with this fortune? He had no need of it. His life was simple and his social contacts few. No one will deny that he chose wisely.

The David Ranken, Jr. School of Mechanical Trades, on which he settled virtually the whole of his wealth, nearly 30 years ago, has helped thousands of youths to select mechanical occupations for themselves and to prepare themselves for useful lives. Other men of wealth had helped higher education in the community. It remained for David Ranken, Jr. to use his money to dignify the work of artisans who would not have a college education. St. Louis would be remiss if it did not hold so discerning a benefactor in grateful memory.

#### MINERAL WATERS OWNED BY CITY OF EXCELSIOR SPRINGS.

An Editorial in the *Kansas City Times*, September 6, 1935.

Excelsior Springs has arrived at the realization of a vision it has held through most of its civic life. It has taken over ownership and control of all of the mineral springs and wells which have made it notable. The city celebrated the event Wednesday [September 4].

It was the first step in an improvement program which is made possible through a federal grant plus bonds voted a year ago by the city itself. The plan involves carrying all of the different health-giving waters to a modern building to be erected in Siloam Park, where they will be available to all for drinking and bathing purposes.

Excelsior Springs, by virtue of its waters, is known in places where even the name of Kansas City seldom is heard. The hotel registers and the public register at "The Springs" contain names and addresses not only from many states but foreign countries. The real community of "The Springs" includes Kansas City and this entire area, which hold a joint interest in the development now undertaken.

#### OLD SOLDIERS BURIED IN ADAIR COUNTY

From the *Kirksville Daily Express*, May 30, 1934.

Although Adair county is but a little over 90 years old, the history of the century-and-a-half-old nation is indelibly linked here in burial grounds that include bodies of men who fought in the Revolutionary war, War of 1812, Mexican war, and the more recent major battle campaigns.

Two soldiers who took part with the Colonial army in the Revolution are buried in the county and their graves have been long marked by citizens of the county. Thomas Lay, buried in the Cain-Collet Cemetery in the central western part of the county, died about 1845 at the age of about 90. A monument over his grave was unveiled on October 10, 1890. James Fletcher, who was a private in the First Regiment Light Dragoons of the Continental troops and was at one time taken a prisoner by the British forces, died in 1845 at the age of 87 and was buried on the old Amsbaugh farm about 11 miles southwest of Kirksville. He came to Missouri in 1830. A monument was erected over his grave and unveiled in 1891.

Mrs. A. J. Burk, who for several years has been a member and officer in the organization known as the Daughters of 1812, has devoted a great deal of time to research work about soldiers from that war who lived and



died in Adair county. Mrs. Burk recently attended a convention of the organization in St. Louis and was appointed organizing regent for a chapter here.

Among the War of 1812 soldiers buried in the county are Samuel Witherow, in the Bear Creek Baptist Church Cemetery. Witherow was the first postmaster in Adair county, operating a combination store and letter office at the site now within the barnlot of the Charles Crow farm northwest of Kirksville. His was the first grave opened in the Bear Creek Cemetery.

Garland Moore, another 1812 fighting man, was perhaps the oldest man to ever live in this section of the state when he died in 1892 at the age of 110. He was buried in the Williams Cemetery, at the Union Church. Among his descendants are E. M. Moore and Mrs. Opal Huffman, of Greencastle.

David Prior, ancestor of former chief of police Fred Darrow here, served in the Ohio Militia during the War of 1812. He was buried in November, 1866, in Forest Cemetery here. John Dodson, who received a land grant signed by President Franklin Pierce in recognition of his services as a corporal in the 1812 war, died in Putnam county in 1868 and was buried there, but his body later was reinterred in the McFerrin Cemetery on a farm in the Troy Mills neighborhood. He has many descendants in Adair and Putnam counties.

Other veterans of 1812 buried in the county include Oliver Towles, in the Towles Cemetery north of Greentop, and David Michael, Nineveh cemetery, at Connelssville.

Nathaniel Floyd, ancestor of the Floyd family in this county and for whom Floyd Creek is named, is buried in Cooper Cemetery in Hickory county, Mo.

Mrs. Burk's records also show several War of 1812 soldiers, ancestors of Kirksville people, who are buried in neighboring counties, as follows: Josiah Robertson and John Thomas Kiggins, Rock Creek Cemetery, Hurdland; John Ingram Clay, ancestor of Mrs. H. Selby, Smith Graveyard, near Antioch, Clark county; George Murrell, ancestor of Attorney C. E. Murrell, old Lancaster Cemetery; Sergt. Joseph Moore, ancestor of Miss Bracy Cornett, old Moore farm, southeast of Linneus; Abraham Goodding, member of the family of which Dr. J. W. Martin is descended, and who was in the battle of New Orleans under Andrew Jackson, buried near Cairo; John Buster, ancestor of Mrs. J. L. Wagner, Antioch churchyard, southwest of Callo; Charles Harris, ancestor of Mrs. W. A. Goodwin, Deep Springs Cemetery, Sullivan county; Yelverton Payton, ancestor of John Payton, buried east of Excello; Uriah Humphreys, ancestor of John C. DeWitt, buried in Sullivan county.

Mexican war veterans buried in the county include Peter Sublette, Towles Cemetery; King Collett, Cain Cemetery; Edwin Parcels, Forest Cemetery; William Capps, Stahl; Thomas Story, Gibbs, and Sylvester Riley.

## VICTOR S. HOLM, MISSOURI SCULPTOR

An editorial in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, November 13, 1935.

When Victor S. Holm accepted the instructorship in sculpture at Washington University 26 years ago, he did so against the advice of an artist friend who lived in St. Louis and the teacher whose place he came to fill. St. Louis, they said in substance, without artistic present or future, was not the place for an aspiring sculptor who had enjoyed the privilege of training and association with Lorado Taft. But the young man from Denmark reasoned that the lack of an art colony only made the greater the opportunity of the fine-arts teacher. He came out from New York and began to teach and to work.

St. Louis, and, indeed, this section of the Mississippi Valley, can be glad that he did. Thanks to Victor Holm's hand, the community has sculptured memorials to Dr. William Beaumont, Calvin M. Woodward, William Taussig, Halsey C. Ives, Robert A. Barnes and other cultural builders. His public art decorates the Memorial Plaza and other parts of the city. It is to be found on the battlefield of Vicksburg, in the monument to Gov. Theodore Carlin at Carrollton, Ill., at Rolla and Jefferson City. Those who were associated with Holm's handling of the bust of John Malang, father of Missouri's highway system, know how infinitely patient he could be and how graciously he could receive criticism.

But it was as a teacher that he made his most important contribution. Skilled in technical knowledge and possessed of an ability to transmit it, Holm modeled students into artists in his classroom and then eagerly watched them go out to earn reputations in their own right. The art colony, which took form and grew to its present distinction during his quarter-century here, knew him as an enthusiastic and helpful friend of its activities.

Victor S. Holm's hand has been stayed, but his influence will go marching on.

## RELIGION OF THE WESTERN MISSOURI PIONEERS

From the Kansas City *Star*, October 19, 1933.

It was a picturesque period of middle West religious life—rude, stern and uncompromising in its precepts, but full of quaint charm in its physical manifestations—that was recalled a few days ago at the Antioch church reunion over in Clay county. The very name of the old church, founded eighty years ago by Moses E. Lard, has an antique flavor that brings to the mind of an industrial generation, whose church steeples rise over palatial houses of worship, the days when "the groves were God's first temples." There is something about those old Biblical names that warms the memory. . . . There is melody in their names—and primitive devotion as well. In Jackson, Clay, Ray, Bates and Clinton counties of Missouri one may still glimpse these relics of the past from the highways with their beautiful names in fading letters over the double doorways: "Bethel," "Antioch," "Mount Gilead," "Emmanuel," "Shiloh," that

sweep the mind back to apostolic days, and "Pleasant Valley," "Wood's Chapel," "Spring Valley," "Mount Ariel," "Buck Elk" and "Indian Creek" that suggest the forest primeval in which they were reared long decades ago. The mystery that intrigues the young generation of today—that of the *raison d'être* of the double doors—is no longer a mystery. At the celebration of Antioch's eightieth birthday, over in Clay county, there were some present who had lived their lives within the sound of its church bell and who had heard the upstanding "Campbellite," Moses Lard, lay down the law of the Book from cover to cover, and these veterans of the old-time religion revealed the mystery—one of the church doors was for the women and one for the men, and in the nave of the little church an oaken rail up the center aisle separated them.

The founder of Antioch was more than a preacher—he was a controversialist of vigor and unyielding opinion and a writer of unusual ability. In the pages of the rare volumes of "Lard's Quarterly," which he edited for many years, a copy of which is in the possession of his grandson, George B. Longan, the times in which he lived and the conditions under which his evangelical work was done in Missouri and elsewhere are vividly brought to life.

In clear, fervent and realistic phraseology, while living in Lexington Ky., he tells in one of his Quarterly papers the story of his "first meeting," which, he states, was held "in the far, far West at a place called Oakland." That far West was on the north borders of Clay county, Missouri, and long ago Oakland, and its aspiring close neighbor, Haynesville, vanished from the scene, or became absorbed in the neighboring town of Holt. It was in this region that Moses E. Lard's early youth had been spent.

"Oakland was so named," he wrote, "from the fine old oak beneath whose grand shade the meeting was held, and from the forest of puerile oaks that grew around it near and far, all of which, for aught I know to the contrary, may have been the true lineal descendants of that same patriarchal tree. . . . From the meeting to which I am now alluding, Oakland soon became somewhat famous in the circumjacent country, an honor which I am glad to inform the reader it has not forfeited at this writing (1863). . . . Most of the men in the neighborhood could read Chronicles by spelling half the words, while all had either read Bunyan and eighth of Romans, or heard them read. Bunyan supplied them with experiences, Romans with texts to prove predestination; the former enjoyed the favor and the affection; the latter, the authority. On Sundays most of the country flocked to meeting, the wags to swap horses and whittle, and to bet on the coming races; the Christians, as was fitting, to hear the sermon and relate their experiences.

"In the midst of this primitive community my father had settled more than thirty years ago. He migrated west from Tennessee, for the sake of the game which then abounded in Missouri. . . . A few months after we landed in Missouri he died. He now sleeps in a quiet wood about a half mile south of Haynesville. . . ."

PERPETUATING THE NAMES OF ST. LOUISANS IN THE  
NAMES OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

An editorial in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, October 2, 1935.

Against the advice of its chairman, the Instruction Committee of the Board of Education has recommended that the public school at 6134 Virginia avenue be renamed for Edward W. Foristel, lawyer and politician, who died last year. This is a recommendation which should be rejected when it goes before the full board. The point is not whether a school should be named for Mr. Foristel. It is that there are so many significant contributors to the life and reputation of St. Louis whose names have not yet been so recognized.

We have schools named for Bates, Blair, and Benton, for example, but none for one of the most distinguished of all American statesmen, Carl Schurz. There is a Shaw School, but none bearing the name of George Engelmann, whose wide range of interests—medical, botanical, meteorological, sanitary—set him apart among scientists. We have a Clark School, but no Lewis School. None of our schools is named for an artist, yet St. Louis was the scene of labors of Carl Wimar and George Caleb Bingham, frontier painters, and Harriet Hosmer, early sculptor. There is a Woodward School, but no school named for Sylvester Waterhouse, the most outstanding Washington University faculty member for a generation.

James E. Yeatman, James O. Broadhead, Halsey C. Ives, Robert Brookings, William K. Bixby—the list could be much expanded, and doubtless will be, by interested St. Louisans before the board passes on the recommendation of its committee.

## BINGHAM'S "COUNTY ELECTION" ON THE MARKET

From the *Glasgow Weekly Times*, November 23, 1854.

Mr. Bingham has had his unrivalled painting, *The County Election*, engraved in Sartain's best style, and it is now ready for delivery. Messrs. Nanson & Bartholow are in receipt of several of the engravings, and will deliver them to all subscribers. The engraving is 22 by 30 inches, and there is over one hundred figures distinctly portrayed. Persons who have been in the habit of attending any of our elections will at once catch the design, and almost read the thoughts of different persons portrayed in the groupe. Mr. B. is one of our own people, and we are sure this great work of his will be largely called for. In conception and execution it takes rank among the best productions of art.

The original price of subscription is \$10. Mr. B. has frames and glass which he furnishes to such subscribers as may desire them, at cost, which will make the price of the engraving, in a tasty frame, covered by a good glass, \$16.50.

"WAYSIDE INN" ERECTED NEAR LAGRANGE IN 1835

From the Kahoka *Clark County Courier*, January 25, 1935.

The first inn erected in northeast Missouri in pioneer days and the only one remaining as far as known, is the old Wayside Inn, five miles northwest of LaGrange, erected in 1835.

This historic landmark used extensively by pioneer settlers until the coming of the railroads, is now tenantless for the first time for any length of time in its entire existence. After the passing of the old inn it was kept in repair and used as a farm home. The owner of the farm on which the inn is located moved from the building recently to another farm.

The inn is patterned after the style of the old time hostelrys; a plain building, large and long with a porch on one side running the entire length of the building. There are twelve rooms, two stairways and three large fireplaces, the only means, no doubt, of heating the large building in its early existence. Some of the original weather boarding is still doing duty on one end of the building.

It is located on the old Memphis-LaGrange road, known as the Memphis-LaGrange trail when the inn was erected. The old building is fairly well preserved, and no doubt will be occupied again in the future.

An interesting feature in connection with the inn is the old-fashioned stone "style block," said to be the original one at the inn. The large blocks of stone from which they were constructed are darkened and time worn, a silent reminder of a day that is gone; a day when pioneer women rode horseback from necessity rather than choice. The pioneer women who rode side saddle and wore long flowing riding skirts did not find it necessary to mount a horse as the present day horsewomen but they had to use a style block, almost as high as the horse, from which to mount. . . . .

According to reliable information a train of loaded wagons three blocks long would often be seen lined up on main street waiting to unload their produce, and reload with merchandise for the inland stores. The teamsters would be driving two and four-horse teams, many of them driving oxen. It was a common sight to see six oxen hitched to a loaded wagon. W. T. Attebery, who came from Scotland county and lived in LaGrange many years before his death, said he always drove six oxen when he hauled his father's tobacco crop to LaGrange.

These old teamsters would put up at the Wayside Inn both coming and going; stock from these inland counties was driven on foot to market; droves of hogs often numbered five or six hundred. The drivers would stop at the inn to rest and feed their stock before delivering it to market. Large pens were built for the stock and quarters provided for the negro drivers.

About half a mile north of the old inn on the banks of the Wyaconda river is the site of the camp meeting grounds where the pioneer Methodists held their annual camp meetings. Near the camp meeting ground was an old water mill, built in an early day and operated until 1870. Depressions in the earth known as "salt licks" or "deer licks," can still be seen near the

old inn. Famous hunters of pioneer days who lived in this section, Joe Washburn, Dave Lillard, Gabriel Long and others, would conceal themselves near these "licks" to shoot deer when they came for salt.

#### WESTPORT'S FIRST SUBDIVIDER

Written by Albert N. Doerschuk in the *Kansas City Star*, October 12, 1935.

In a Topeka distpatch in *The Times*, October 3, under the heading "New Light on Westport," it is stated John C. McCoy, son of Isaac McCoy, "established a store on his father's land," and "the townsite of Westport was laid out by John C. McCoy in 1831."

The town of Westport was built on parts of sections 19 and 20. Section 20 was selected by the state as "seminary land" in 1828 and patented to James Jennings, December 5, 1833. Jennings sold it to Robert Johnson October 6, 1833, nearly two months before he got his patent.

Robert Johnson sold part of this land to John C. McCoy (deed book E, page 315) January 7, 1835. On this land part of McCoy's plat was "laid out." The other land bearing part of this plat was purchased by Mr. McCoy from Dr. Johnston Lykins (deed book N, page 315) January 3, 1835; this was in section 19, and on this land was built the McCoy store mentioned in the Topeka dispatch. Dr. Lykins bought this land August 17, 1833, from Robert Johnson, to whom it was patented June 11, 1833.

Nowhere in the title records does it appear that Isaac McCoy owned unplatted land on which the town of Westport was platted, or that he owned the land on which J. C. McCoy built his store.

The plat of Westport, "J. C. McCoy's Part," bears the date of 1835, and the other part of Westport, to which Mr. McCoy specifically refers on his plat, was recorded "Campbell's Town of Westport," of which Maj. John Campbell, Indian agent, was "proprietor," as stated on the recorded Campbell plat and certified to by the county surveyor and the clerk of the court.

Had this "Campbell's Town of Westport" not been in existence at the time, Mr. McCoy could not have referred specifically to it on his plat. Mr. McCoy bought from Major Campbell lots 16, 15, and 105 in the Town of Westport, "as appears by the Town Platte," "each containing one-fourth acre" (book D, page 238), on August 31, 1834, four months before he owned the land on which he built his store and laid off his "Part of Westport," according to his plat and the record.

Clearly, then, Major Campbell was "the first town lot subdivider" and the first "proprietor of the Town of Westport."

#### JEFFERSON CITY WAGONS FOR 49'ERS

From the *Glasgow Weekly Times*, February 14, 1850.

Messrs. J. W. Harris & Co. are agents for the sale of California Wagons, manufactured at Jefferson City. Good common two horse wagons cost \$87.50; Spring Bodies, \$111.00, delivered here, on the opening of navigation. These wagons are warranted, and we advise Californians to give them a call.

## REVIVAL OF THE ST. LOUIS FAIR

An editorial in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, October 16, 1935.

The proposal to revive the old St. Louis Fair, which with its predecessors entertained this community and a large area surrounding it for more than 80 years, is worthy of our interested attention. . . . Mayor Dickmann offered the thought in the course of a dinner given by the General Committee of the National Dairy Show for editors and mayors of cities in the St. Louis trade area, Monday night, and the suggestion was received with enthusiasm. . . .

As early as 1822 an agricultural society was formed in St. Louis and fairs were held on irregular schedule. A mechanical fair was set up as a separate institution, also in irregular persistence. Out of these developed the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association, which from 1855 to early in the present century sponsored regular October fairs, save for a few years during the civil war when the fairgrounds at Grand avenue and Natural Bridge road became Benton Barracks for the housing of Federal troops. . . .

## ELIJAH FOSTER, CENTRAL MISSOURI PIONEER

From the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, November 16, 1860.

Mr. Elijah Foster, now residing in Cole county, six miles from Jefferson City, came to Missouri from New Hampshire in 1816 and was engaged by Stone & Bellows of St. Louis to aid them in a trapping expedition. This, at the time, failing or being postponed, he was employed by Maj. Langham [?] to aid him in prosecuting the survey of the United States lands in this territory; and setting out to join Major Langham's party, then somewhere between the waters of Salt and Cuivre rivers in northeast Missouri. After a nine days unsuccessful search for this party, he accidentally came across a surveying party under Robert W. Wells, now Judge of the District Court of the United States, which he joined. After concluding this engagement, Mr. Foster came to Boone county and was employed to carry the mail weekly between Cote Sans Dessein and Franklin via Smithton, the former name of Columbia. This was in 1820. Mr. Foster, therefore, carried on horseback and delivered at Smithton (the town then being in Mr. Garth's pasture north of his residence) the first mail ever brought to Boone county, and this was opened by a Mr. Lipscomb. Mr. Anderson Woods was postmaster.

Mr. Foster dug the widely known Thrall's well, one of the best and most inexhaustible in the county, and now to be seen near the road and in the front yard of the fine residence of Mr. John W. Harris, one of the Representatives from Boone county to the next Legislature. He dug this well without help in 1817; and left here the evening of his call upon us (the editor of the *Statesman*) to visit it and take another drink from it—very probably his last. Mr. Foster was present at the first Circuit Court ever held in Boone. Hon. David Todd was judge; Thos. Redd, State



attorney; Overton Harris, father of Mr. J. W. Harris before mentioned, sheriff. The court was held in Smithton under an harbor [sic] made of pawpaw bushes! Mr. Foster is now 65 years of age.

THE OSAGE MISSION FAMILY IN 1821

From the St. Charles *Missourian*, August 15, 1821.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. B. Pixley, dated August 6th, Mission Boat, Osage river, 10 miles above Chouteau's establishment.

Rev. and Dear Sir: You will join with us in returning thanks to Almighty God for our safe passage thus far, and as we suppose we now are within a few miles of the place where we shall eventually be established. Our journey has indeed been long and tedious, but it has not on that account been less marked with the peculiar Province of God in our favor.

We have had a flood tide against us most of the way up this river, as well as up the Missouri, but if it had been otherwise upon this river we, instead of being here, should undoubtedly have been 200 miles below, without the least possible hope of getting our boats up this season. The water was never known to be so high in this part of the country as it has been this last spring, and we come along just in season to improve it, though at times it cost us much labor and patience to encounter the flood wood and the rapidity of the river.

An old Indian, as we have been told since our arrival here, was asked if he could tell why it raised so much. He replied that the missionaries were coming, and had been praying to the Great Spirit for rain that they might get up the river. Our health, considering the number of our family, their circumstances, & their fatigues, has been remarkable. We have had no alarming sickness, and only one slight attack of the ague and fever.

The Indians appeared highly pleased at our arrival, and sent off an express the next morning (which was day before yesterday) to assemble the chiefs, who were gone away to their hunting grounds, in order that we may have a talk with them, and ascertain where they would wish us to make our establishment.

Mr. Sibley, superintendent at Fort Osage, has written us a letter to come and establish ourselves at a place where he is now building a trading house for government.

We are now within 5 or 6 miles of the place where our boats are necessarily prevented from going any farther from the shallowness of the water.

Three of the brethren have been to view the station which Mr. S. is erecting, and report favorably. Thus things seem to indicate that this is the time for christian action. We may, however, be much delayed in collecting the Indian council, as there are some apprehensions of war with the Cherokees.

My dear brother, I might well forget all the fatigues of this long journey in recounting the many mercies of God, how much better He has done by us than our fears have suggested. And, indeed, if I might be permitted to hope that ere long these children of the forest would, by our feeble

instrumentality, become enlightened and brought to the knowledge of the truth, I should remember no more forever the fatigue and anguish, for joy that so much good was accomplished.

Remember us to our very dear friends at St. Charles, those friends of Missions. May the Lord bless them and ourselves. Yours affectionately.  
(Signed) Benton Pixley.

#### CASS COUNTY BOND RECALLS GUNN CITY TRAGEDY

From the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat*, November 5, 1931.

"Bloody Bond" Number 1, of that famous or infamous issue which brought about what is now referred to as the "Gunn City Tragedy," has been presented to the county court of Cass county.

The bonds were issued in 1872 by the Cass County Court for the purpose of securing railroads through this county. The story of the court's attempt to swindle the county out of the money and the ensuing tragedy is a well known part of Missouri history. Suit was instituted to recover the 299 bonds, and after numerous proceedings in various courts, all were regained by due process of law. On the 7th day of May, 1878, all were burned with the exception of Number 1, which was to be given to the city of Harrisonville, and No. 229, which was to be given to Gunn City, to be preserved.

Francis Marion Cummings was mayor of Harrisonville at that time and Bond No. 1 was given to him. Mayor Cummings died soon after this and the bond was locked away with his personal papers. It was forgotten for many years until it was found by his daughter, Mrs. H. S. Bates, who many times has exhibited it at county fairs. It was described in detail in the Relic and Heirloom Department of the *Cass County Democrat*, February 19, 1925. The bond has been framed and hung in the county court room.

[Editor's note: Mrs. Bates recently loaned this bond to the State Historical Society of Missouri, and a photostatic copy of it was made for permanent preservation in the Society's library.]



